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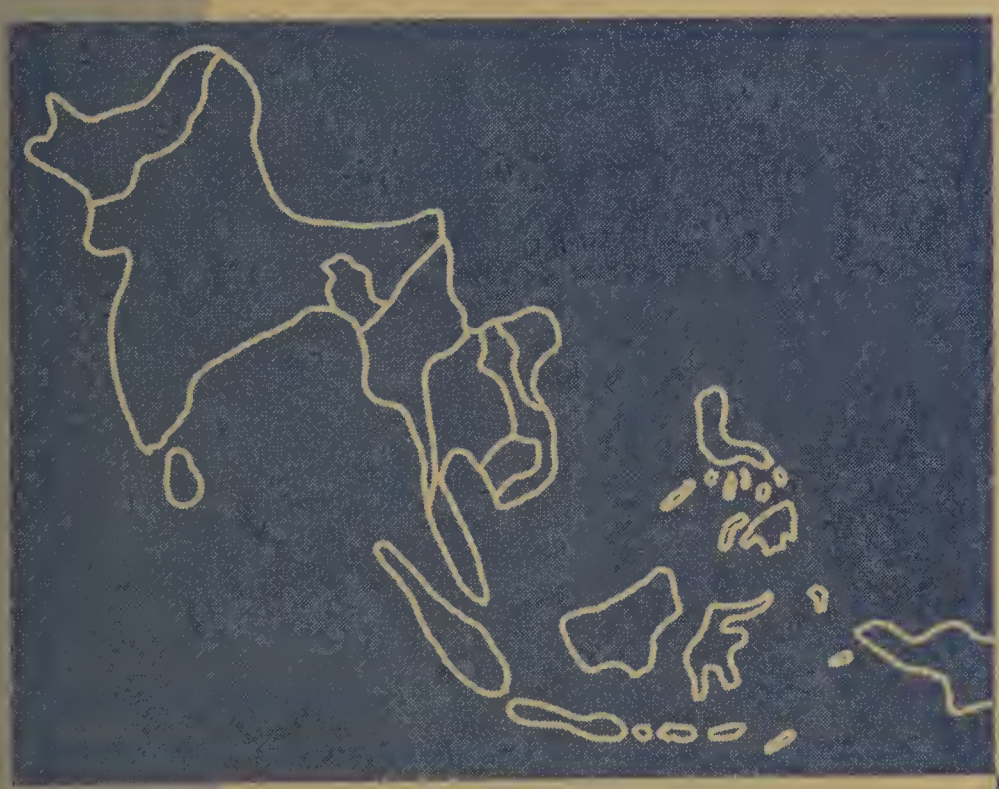

An Asian-American Discussion

THE U.S. NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS
EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

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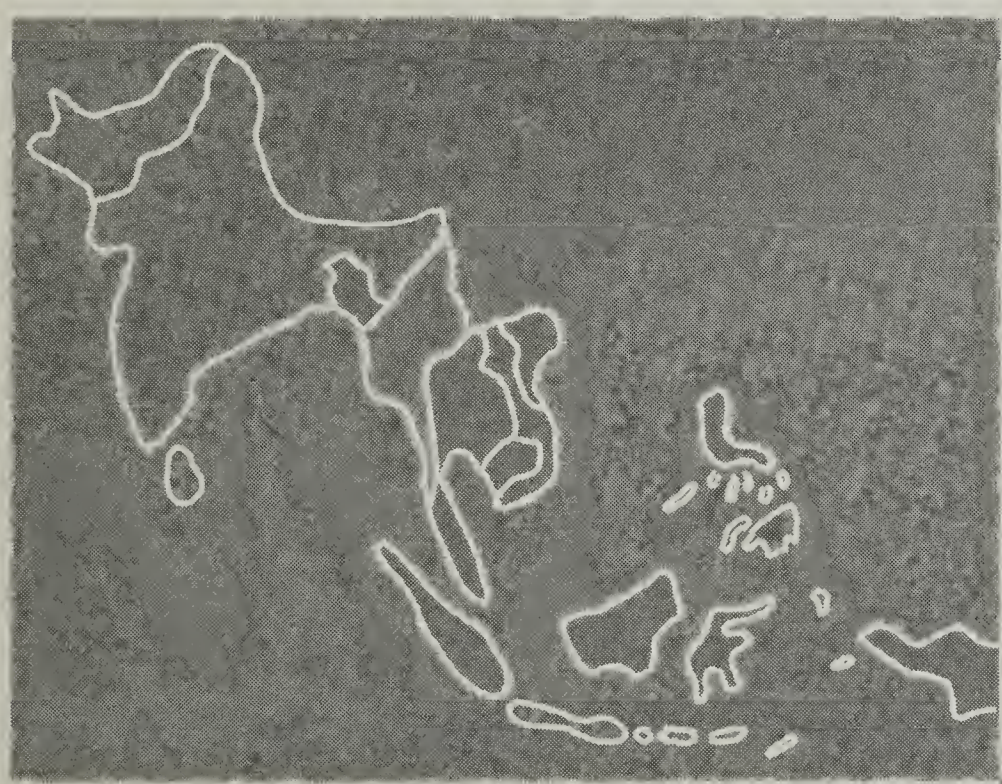
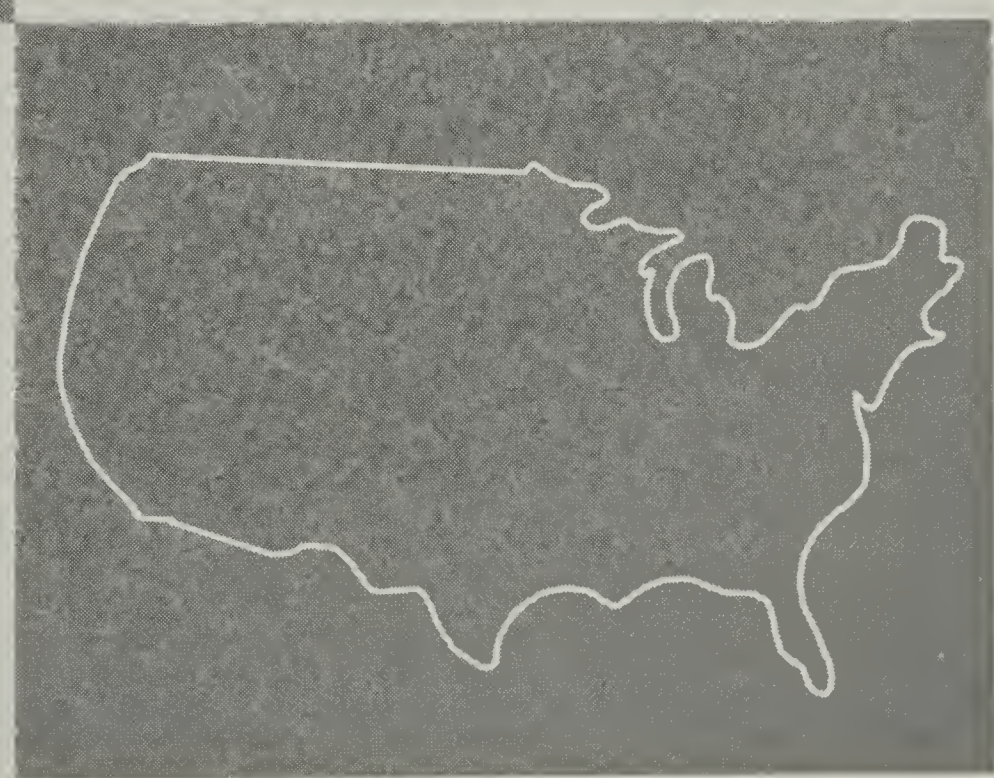
TWO SIDES of ONE WORLD

A Report *on an international discussion of* Human Values in Social Change in South and Southeast Asia and in the United States . . .

Implications for Asian-American Cooperation

April 19–May 19, 1956





Prepared for the United States National Commission for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

By Arthur Goodfriend

CO-SPONSORED BY THE U. S. NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION AND UNESCO

U. S. National Commission for UNESCO

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Foreword

There is no problem in the world today which cries more urgently for attention than that of achieving understanding between peoples of different cultures and laying a basis in friendship for more effective international cooperation. Most of us know, either from personal experience or scientific studies or both, that human nature is basically the same the world over. All men have the same fundamental human needs and desires, the same fundamental drives toward self-realization. But the fact that human societies have evolved differently in different parts of the world, that many different social responses have been worked out to different environmental conditions, that hundreds of years of indigenous experience have given to each national and cultural group its own social and psychological characteristics and its own way of looking at life means that it is difficult for men in different parts of the world to understand and trust one another and to realize in cooperative action that fundamental brotherhood of man which has become one of the most significant ideals of this century.

The member states of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the Organization itself have quite properly concerned themselves with this problem. At the Eighth General Conference of UNESCO, held in Montevideo in 1954, a resolution was passed calling upon the Director General to organize or encourage "surveys, round table discussions and publications in which humanistic studies help to develop cultural relations between the peoples of the world, and which are likely to increase, among the general public, a sense of the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind."

It was in response to this resolution that there was held in the United States in the spring of 1956 the Conference on Cultural Relations Between the Peoples of South and Southeast Asia and the United States which is the subject of this report. Jointly invited by UNESCO and the United States National Commission for UNESCO, a group of outstanding Asian cultural leaders, representing 10 different countries of South and Southeast Asia, journeyed to the United States and spent 4 weeks visiting representative American communities and engaging in roundtable and open forum discussions with groups of American leaders on the theme, "Human Values in Social Change in South and Southeast Asia and the United States: Implications for Asian-American Cooperation."

The arrival of the Asian leaders in San Francisco on April 21 of last year climaxed a long period of planning and preparation. As host for the Conference, the United States National Commission had already been working nearly

a year. The first step had been to assemble a group of distinguished American scholars specializing in Asian affairs, who met at Ann Arbor in the summer of 1955 under the chairmanship of Dean Charles E. Odegaard, of the University of Michigan, and worked out the essential terms of reference for the project. These plans then were translated into action by the UNESCO Relations Staff, Department of State, which serves the National Commission as secretariat. The National Commission is indebted to its Executive Secretary, Max McCullough, for imaginative leadership, and to Frank S. Hopkins, Deputy Director, UNESCO Relations Staff, for carrying through to successful completion a difficult series of activities.

But the job could not have been done by the National Commission alone. A number of organizations and institutions were called upon for assistance, and through their magnificent cooperation the project became an actuality. Particularly helpful was the participation of the Asia Foundation, which cooperated in many ways, not the least of which was in making its able President, Dr. Robert Blum, available as Conference Chairman. The Asia Foundation, The American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP), the Edward W. Hazen Foundation, the Fund for Asia, Inc., and the Rockefeller Foundation gave substantial support to the project and provided valuable professional guidance. Five distinguished American institutions of higher learning—the University of California, the University of Louisville, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the University of Michigan, and the University of Minnesota—acted as hosts and as sponsors of discussions in their respective communities. The American Council of Learned Societies took over this responsibility for the final week of the Conference in Washington.

To all these organizations and institutions, the United States National Commission for UNESCO wishes to extend its most deepfelt thanks. Each one performed its role with enthusiasm and effectiveness. But one cannot speak of organizations and institutions without thinking instantly of the individuals who took the actual responsibility for planning and execution. A list of the local chairmen is included in a special preface to this report. But each local chairman called heavily upon colleagues and staff for assistance, and the total number of persons intimately associated with the Conference as it moved from city to city is unfortunately too large for us to mention each by name. We can only say that special gratitude is due each individual for his or her complex and strenuous involvement in the common enterprise.

In addition to the local chairmen and their staffs, many individuals in the six American communities visited by the Asians made significant contributions to

the success of the Conference and to the orientation of the visitors in American life. Those who participated in the roundtable sessions or in other discussions with the Asian leaders are listed alphabetically in the special appendix. But there are many who cannot be named to whom the National Commission wishes to express its gratitude—the scores of men and women who opened their homes to our visitors, conducted them on sightseeing tours, or in other ways contributed to the richness of their experience in our country. I should particularly like to thank the several members of Congress and the many high officials of the United States Government who extended courtesies to our guests during their stay in Washington.

A special acknowledgement is due the Center for International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology for performing a service indispensable to the success of the Conference. Requested by the National Commission to prepare a discussion paper to serve as a guide to both Asian and American participants, the Center, under the direction of Dr. Max F. Millikan, discharged this task brilliantly. The discussion paper, written by Dr. Guy J. Pauker of Harvard University, went through a number of drafts and emerged as a document so rich in content, so stimulating in its ideas, and so sympathetic to the problems of both Asians and Americans that it gave the Conference a dimension and an atmosphere it could not otherwise have possessed.

As companion piece to the discussion paper of Dr. Pauker, it now gives the National Commission great pleasure to present this report by Arthur Goodfriend—a report which in no way reflects the position of UNESCO or of the National Commission on any of the topics discussed. Just as without Dr. Pauker's thought-provoking essay the Conference would have lacked much in scope and content, so without Mr. Goodfriend's report it would lose much of its value and enduring influence. It has been obviously impossible for him to report everything interesting or significant that was said during 4 weeks of discussions. But within the limits of some 30,000 words, he has been able to pick out certain highlights and to suggest the character of the discussions which took place. It is the hope of the National Commission that this report will carry to many thousands of readers, in the United States and abroad, some sense of what transpired in six American cities in the spring of 1956—some sense of the manner in which thoughtful Asians and thoughtful Americans, sharing with each other their problems and their deep concern for the futures of their respective societies, reached out toward one another in fraternal good will for understanding and guidance.

In concluding this brief foreword, it is fitting that I say a word about UNESCO. The Director General of UNESCO, Dr. Luther H. Evans, who called upon the United States National Commission to organize the project, gave it his strong support. The UNESCO staff participated fully in planning the Conference and helped to give it both form and substance. Jacques Havet, of UNESCO's Division of Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, attended the discusssions as the Director General's personal representative, and through his eloquence and sincerity helped to lift it to a higher pitch of idealism.

To none of us is given the power to know the future, and only history can tell what enduring significance our Conference may have. Those of us who participated personally in it, and found it an inspiring experience to see Asians and Americans making daily progress toward understanding one another better, can only hope that it will serve to set off a chain reaction of more and more such conferences in years to come, each taking a further step forward toward "the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind." In this direction, we believe, lies one of the most fruitful avenues of effort for all men of good will everywhere.

WILLARD E. GIVENS
Chairman
United States National Commission for UNESCO

I. *East Meets West*

The members' lounge of the Museum of Art in San Francisco was hung with paintings by contemporary artists. Intense, introspective, bold in color and line, the paintings expressed the restlessness, the confusion, the inner ferment, the quest for new horizons that obsess modern man. Beneath these paintings in this room, there gathered last April a group of Asians and Americans to discuss the problems and anxieties afflicting their people, their countries, their world in an atomic age.

Scarcely 48 hours earlier many of the Asians had been at home. Planes had picked them up, hurled them across an ocean, and deposited them with almost split-second punctuality at this distant rendezvous. Coming from sovereign nations, they brought pride in their peoples' traditions, cultures, and sacrifices for equality and freedom. Economists, educators, philosophers, they brought an awareness of the impact on their countrymen of technology, industrialization, swift communication and conflicting ideologies in a shrinking world. From lands primarily agricultural and in an early phase of their economic development, they recognized the inevitability of industrialization, its menace as well as its might, and looked to America as a source of experience and assistance. Racially different, they were as one in their zest for understanding and friendship and either spoke or understood a common tongue, English. Buddhists, Christians, Hindus, Moslems, they shared an appreciation of man's spiritual heritage, a common concern for man's fate.

All these factors explained and emphasized the meaning of the title chosen for the conferences the Asians had come to attend: "Human Values and Social Change in South and Southeast Asia and in the United States . . . Implications for Asian-American Cooperation." These same factors supplied in addition something sensed as much by the hundred-odd observers filling the room's fringes as by the participants sitting around the baize-covered table—a seriousness of purpose, an urgency that would grow in intensity throughout the ensuing 4 weeks of travel and talk.

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The opening session of the Asian-American discussions in San Francisco.

AROUND THE TABLE

From Burma had come U Lu Pe Win, Director of its Archeological Survey, to be joined later by Daw Mya Sein, Lecturer in History at the University of Rangoon. From Cambodia, the former Minister of Education and Royal Counselor, His Excellency Sam Sary. From Ceylon, Dr. G. P. Malalasekera, Professor of Pali and of Asian Studies at the University of Ceylon. From India, Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, Director of the University of Delhi's School of Economics. From Indonesia, Dr. Bahder Djohan, President of the University of Indonesia. From Laos, the Director of the Ministry of Education, Tay Keolouangkhot. From Pakistan, Prof. M. M. Sharif, President of the Pakistan Philosophical Congress in Lahore. From the Philippines came Dr. Vidal A. Tan, President of the University of the Philippines. From Thailand, Dr. Sukich Nimmanheminda, member of the Council of Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok. From Viet-Nam, the Rector of its university, Dr. Nguyen Quang Trinh. American viewpoints were presented by the men and women whose names begin on page 76 of this report. Drawn from each community where the discussions occurred,

they included philosophers, scholars, sociologists, anthropologists, educators, economists, and Orientalists from the sponsoring universities, augmented by businessmen, lawyers, journalists, technicians, scientists, religious and labor leaders, and by representatives of women's groups, minority groups, and government.

DEFINING THE PROBLEMS

To assist the conferees, a workpaper outlining the issues and suggesting tentative hypotheses which might profitably be examined had been prepared at the Center for International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The paper reviewed social change in the United States and in Asia, described the political, economic and sociocultural aspects of that change, and explored both the obstacles to progress and the implications for cooperation. In addition it further defined the conference's purpose, scope, and hope. "Frank confrontations by Southern Asians and Americans," it stated, "of the respective images, probably distorted, of each other's interests and motivations, can only help to bring to light misunderstandings and to clear the air. . . . However obscured by present misunderstandings, what unites Asia and America is the future. We are both seeking to preserve and develop human values which flourish only in free democratic societies."

Avoiding conclusions of its own, the workpaper set forth instead a barrage of questions. Recognizing the political revolutions, the social flux, the economic developments in Asia since World War II, it asked what Asian values find expression in these changes? What has happened to individualism, family ties, humanism in the value systems of Southeast Asian peoples? What is the influence of Marxism? How does Asia's youth differ from older generations? What role do Western values play in the cultural process? Must Asians choose between adaptation of Western values and the strengthening of Asia's traditional ways of life? Or are those right who argue that new and old values can be integrated with a minimum of conflict?

REAL VS. APPARENT VALUES

With the broadening of their familiarity with the American scene as they moved back and forth across the country and under the stimulus of changing panels and audiences, the Asians reframed these questions in the specific terms of their individual interests, backgrounds, and observations. The visible phenomenon of America's advanced industrialization, America's deep concern with communism's threat to freedom, the role of private capital, paralleled in

its power by the privately owned press and other communications channels—on these and other facets of American life they honed their questions to a scalpel-sharpness. How, they asked, does American democracy square with the giant enterprise evidenced in many fields? Is the United States interested in the preservation of political democracy even if it involves socialism, or is it interested in political democracy only if it embraces capitalism in an American sense? What remedy has America found to return to its workers a sense of the value of their work? What use is being made of the leisure time which machinery provides? Must Asia suffer with industrialization, the delinquency, alcoholism, neuroses, ulcers, and sex immorality that allegedly afflict American life?

The bite of the Asian inquiries was matched in turn by questions asked about Asia by each new panel of Americans. How can Asia reconcile religious philosophies embodying the ideal of renunciation with the wealth, power, and other materialistic attributes of the industrialization it desires? How can Asian governments leaning toward Socialist economies hope to attract the American capital they need? What role do the masses play in Asian life? How genuine is Asian democracy? Certain political questions also intruded. How, asked Americans, can Asia justify its neutralism in the current conflict between totalitarianism and democracy? How do Asians propose to prevent their countries from becoming Communist satellites?

Questions like these demanded frank answers. Once the inhibitions born of strangeness relaxed, once the overly polite deference to contrary viewpoints diminished, once national postures had been patriotically displayed and defended, they received them. Instead of widening differences, however, candor seemed to bridge them. Instead of opposing bloc to bloc, frankness erased the geographical, racial, and political lines dividing the discussants. Gradually a third pattern of questions evolved, stemming less from national or regional attitudes and more from the universality of mankind's dilemma.

What values do men share? asked Asians and Americans. How can the best of these be preserved? With industrialization inevitable, how can cultural conformity be prevented and respect for differences strengthened? How can American aid best be administered? How can American capital be put to work in Asia, furthering rather than inhibiting the conviction that America and Asia can progress together to a common goal? What forms of economic organization are most consistent with the achievement of human values and democratic ideals? What is the best way to strengthen democracy? How can Asia profit from America's experience with industrialization so as to shorten the way and avoid the pitfalls? What, in return, can Asia give America?

As though in anticipation of these questions, Dr. Blum, early in the Conference, remarked: "Our countries are in different stages of economic and social development. In differing degrees we all seek material progress while adhering to our own cultural traditions. This progress and these traditions interact on each other in ways that differ from country to country. Certain prices have to be paid for the material progress we make, and none of us can be entirely certain of what that price is going to be or whether it is worth paying. In our examination of these matters, Asians and Americans have much to learn from one another."

"COMMON EFFORT TOWARD A COMMON GOAL"

Speaking for UNESCO, its representative, M. Havet, added: "The main object of this Conference is to develop cultural and spiritual relations among peoples. We hope it will reach deeper than the vicissitudes of politics, into the foundations of human understanding. Without formulating conclusions, passing resolutions or making formal recommendations, but rather by creating the basis for a better reciprocal understanding, respectful of the differences among people, this Conference can help to build human societies where man can achieve his vocation, where all men are partners, societies which will be united in a really peaceful world. There can be," M. Havet concluded, "no better ultimate aim for the work of UNESCO—or of these meetings."

Rarely throughout the ensuing weeks did the discussants depart far from the spirit of these remarks and expectations. Swiftly a certain logic developed in their approach to their complex task. To explore the range of human values took precedence. Values were sought on which all men agree, and on which there is substantial disagreement.

INDUSTRIALIZATION AND HUMAN VALUES

This led directly to consideration of the impact of industrialization on human values. As the nation most industrially advanced, the United States came under special scrutiny. The character of America's economic system—its historic roots, its growth, the role of private capital, the nature and degree of governmental intervention and control—was analyzed. The effects of industrialization on family life, on minorities, on communications, on literature, art, religion—on the inner peace, harmony and personal integration of the individual—were debated. The qualities of American industrialization which Asia might safely borrow, those which Asia might better eschew—in short, the meaning of the

American experience to nascent Asian economies—these demanded and received a full measure of attention.

Consideration of industrialization in Asia followed. In the words of one participant: "Basic values in many Asian countries are already in a state of transition as a result of newly won independence and rapid technological change. Old values are breaking down. The bonds of people are snapping. A new ethos is in formation. A new basis for social grouping is in process. Will the individual be swallowed up in a faceless mass? Will the people miss the bread of life in their search for bread? What economic system holds out greatest hope for a swift easy transition from the field to the factory? Capitalism? Socialism? Communism?" Replying, each Asian described the difficulties inherited from the past, the steps taken throughout a decade of freedom to develop natural and human resources, the psychological and pragmatic attitudes to industrialization which impel Asia's leaders and peoples today.

From this thrust a fourth line of investigation—the nature of Asian and American societies, the relationship in each between elite and masses, the influence one exercises on the other, the degree to which national postures and policies reflect popular opinion. What indeed is public opinion in these countries? How is it influenced? How much does it count? Questions like these opened gateways into the fields of education and mass communications, the status of women, of voluntary groups, of foundations, of minorities, of labor, of youth.

A fifth field of discussion centered on the effects of cultural exchange and interpenetration on each society. Mass cultural forms, especially those exported by one country to others, such as films, broadcasts, popular literature, invited examination. In addition participants discussed, in terms of experience today and betterment tomorrow, more serious cultural exports such as textbooks, novels and nonfiction works, music, drama, painting, and exchanges of personnel in educational and cultural as well as in technical fields. How, in a world unified by technology, individual cultures could be protected and developed was considered. This in turn led, inevitably, to a sixth and final field of inquiry—into foreign policy, military pacts, aid.

Thus over the weeks the discussions tended to gravitate into certain general groupings encompassing a broad range of Asian-American experience. Their scope, their profusion of thought can only at best be vignetted within the narrow dimensions of the frame these pages provide. Many valuable sentiments must, perforce, be omitted or condensed. For brevity's sake, too, all six seminars are fused into one—a fusion justified, perhaps, by the fortunate fact that

although physically many of the conferees never met and discoursed, in spirit communication among them seemed complete.

Reflected in this report, finally, is a characteristic of the discussions themselves—a constant meshing of issues and arguments, a synthesis of subjects, an intermingling of ideas, and the emergence of conclusions only after the canvassing of broad and distant domains.

Indeed, from the 4 weeks of contemplation of Asian-American values in a changing world, one salient truth emerged: that no subject can be dissociated from others. That religion, economics, politics, education, and every other sphere of human activity are indissolubly linked. That each is in constant reaction to the others. That, in M. Havet's words, "cultural problems have their real background in the conditions of social and economic and even political life of the peoples concerned."

II. *A Question of Values*

"More nonsense has been written regarding values," quoted an American participant, "than any other subject in philosophy." Both Asians and Americans agreed. Another American urged caution in determining values basic to East and West, since only at a given moment in history might certain values be deemed basic. Values, asserted a third, are as variable as individuals, making it impossible to define human values en masse. A fourth, linking values with behavior, questioned the existence of any universal human value because of the differences in men's goals and the means of their realization. Conditions, said another, determine values more than nationality. Values evolve naturally from different economic, political and social environments.

Asians approached the matter of human values with equal caution. One sharpened the distinction between values and behavior, citing as examples the thousands who died building China's Great Wall after Confucius and Mencius had proclaimed man's equality and stressed the notion of charity; the coexistence of French revolutionary ideals with oppression in Indochina; the need for antidiscrimination legislation in the United States, a land synonymous with freedom. Another asserted that every value can be a means to another value, or lead to a disvalue, and that all values can be used for good or for evil. A third implied that values are meaningless unless people possess the material means of giving them reality. Another despaired of reconciling the conflict be-

tween human values and material progress. "Western civilization," he observed, "generates new and ever greater desires. Buddhists believe that desire leads to selfishness, craving, dissatisfaction. We prefer renunciation, which is opposed to the Western value of acquisition." Another Asian disagreed. "Our scale of values, giving a high place to renunciation, may impede the development of Western dynamism in Asia. We don't as yet know. But Asians, like Americans, want the better material life too and are determined to get it."

Asians and Americans agreed that the bromidic material-versus-spiritual approach was a poor kind of dichotomy. In the United States, it was recognized, there is an awareness of danger that Americans may become creatures of their own gadgets. In Asia the objective is material advancement. Neither people desires such advancement at the sacrifice of its best cultural values.

THE BASIC VALUES OF MANKIND

Upon the approach to the matter of values advanced by Professor Sharif, the main weight of the discussions ultimately focused. "Certain basic values," he said, "are common to all humanity though there may be differences of emphasis. Most fundamental is life itself. Others are goodness, expressed in good will, justice, love, brotherhood, exemplary conduct, and character as embodied in developed personalities, social services, law courts, and churches. Beauty, expressed in taste, appreciation of nature, and esthetic activity as embodied in the arts. Truth, expressed in wisdom and knowledge, through schools, libraries, research institutes, and universities. Happiness, expressed in uninterrupted pursuit, discovery, invention, and relief from pain. Leading to these ultimate values are certain instrumental values. These are peace, hospitality, liberty, mutual trust, and cooperation. Also equality, private property, social security, and public service in the fields of health, education, communication—indispensable to the advancement of ultimate values.

"Peculiarly American," Professor Sharif pointed out, "are such values as wealth, industrialization, mechanization, free enterprise, a high living standard, dignity of the individual, choice of occupation, efficiency of work, recreation, material comfort, equality of sexes, emphasis on the factual and secular, pragmatic adjustments, and political alliances—a mechanistic view of life. The main direction of American life is the conquest of nature for the benefit of man.

"Peculiarly Asian," he continued, "are such values as family and home, mental peace, derived less from material comfort than from intellectual and spiritual sources; simplicity of life; contentment; sex morality; emphasis on the ideal

rather than the pragmatic; a reliance on universal love and justice rather than on political alliances. The Asian view is melioristic rather than materialistic, purposeful rather than mechanical, and directed more to the development of human personality than to the conquest of nature.

"Both value patterns cast shadows. The defects in American society are a life of rush, over-organization, conformity, impersonalization, lack of religious fervor, a sense of isolation among certain groups, a decrease in home life, an increase in delinquency, promiscuity, and neurosis. Asian defects, induced largely by the neglect of instrumental values, include stagnation, lethargy, filth, traditionalism, parasitism, poverty, disease, sex isolation, and mass ignorance.

"To synthesize, if possible, the best values of East and West," Professor Sharif concluded, "and to devise the ways and means to a culture free of the shadows which darken each, seems a worthy objective."

SPIRITUAL OR MATERIAL?

Dr. Trinh agreed that in any examination of America the mastery of nature by man stands out, reflected in the scientific, artistic, cultural, and political achievement. But America, he added, may be too complacent about this. "I notice a lack of metaphysical anguish and absence of curiosity about the ultimate fate of man. Some American authors—Faulkner, Caldwell, Steinbeck, Hemingway, to name a few—suffer this anxiety, but how far they reflect the American outlook generally I do not know. As for American conformism, it is not without elements of strength such as solidarity and unity. But is it altogether democratic? May not conformism lead to a kind of political intolerance, a dictatorship? Can minorities subsist in face of the majority? May not conformism carry the seed of democracy's ruin?"

Dr. Mandelbaum warned against "being taken in by slogans, such as the immorality of American life. This comes in part from Hollywood films. Let us not deceive ourselves about the materialism of American life and the spirituality of the East. These values work in both cultures and they cannot be closely measured. We are all imperfect vessels; we are all spiritual. We can get nowhere if we deal in clichés."

Defining values as choices in alternatives, tinged with emotion and not altogether rationally determined, Dr. Mandelbaum affirmed that all men who are heirs of great civilizations and religions agree on certain abstract values such as peace, truth, good will. "The area of real disagreement lies at another level," he said, "such as the position in East and West of a learned elite. The Ameri-

can tendency has been to spread the elite, to broaden its power, while in some parts of Asia an elite minority has tended, historically, to confine power to its own group."

Dr. Rao countered Dr. Mandelbaum's charge. "Values Westerners claim as indigenous are really the product of the last 250 years of technological revolution, when you were free and we were not. Concepts like freedom, justice, equality, political democracy expressed in English political literature and spreading like wildfire since the American, French, and Russian Revolutions have become part of our value system. Our Constitution today embraces these in their most advanced form. But it should not be forgotten that thousands of years ago my ancestors, in great Hindu epics such as the Vedas and Upanishads, proclaimed the dignity of the individual. Many of America's greatest values come not from Greece, Rome, or England but from the East.

"The difference between India and the United States," said Dr. Rao, "has lain in our lesser resistance to an unfavorable environment. We have tended to accept conditions as we found them, believing the present to be an act of justice for what happened in the past. You react with hostility to any unfavorable development or obstacle in your way. You have a purposive attitude toward your environment and fight it. We have not."

CHANGING CONCEPTS

"But with political freedom," Dr. Rao concluded, "tremendous change in our national attitude is taking place. The success of our elections, our handling of the refugee problem, our Five-Year Plan, the passage of our Constitution—all these have given our people a new vision of the future and confidence in success. Eighty million people are affected by our village development program. They see visible changes in their food, health, transportation, either in their own locality or in films. All these are causing old values to change. We no longer accept poverty. We want a higher living standard. At the same time we don't want people to go crazy for progress. We seek a compromise—a sufficiency of economic necessities without losing the older values of the family, of the spirit, of love. The people, the masses, control the situation. Millions of them are politically conscious. They can vote. If their expectations are not met, they may relinquish the value of personal freedom for some form of totalitarianism."

To the position of India other Asians added vignettes of the value-patterns of their own societies. Said Dr. Sukich: "Our chief value in Thailand is the desire for a happy life. This embraces all other values. We want good will and

friendship with all. We prize tolerance for all points of view, and especially religious tolerance. As Buddhists we do not interfere with others, nor do we entertain prejudices against others. We accept whatever we deem to be good for us. We don't believe in high-faluting talk about metaphysics. Our values are down to earth and of this world."

Said U Lu Pe Win: "As Buddhists, Burmans draw their values from the 38 ways of life laid down in the Mangala Sutta. We avoid conflict. We choose occupations that do not encroach on others. We don't take life; a true Buddhist is a vegetarian and does not even destroy the lives of insects. Our way of life is harmless, simple, and rural. So far these values have not been challenged by modern times. Western civilization is making inroads through its films and sports, but these are being resisted."

"We of Ceylon," said Dr. Malalasekera, "would agree, but we are beginning to get nervous. Western associations are undermining our society with drunkenness, divorce, sensual enjoyment. This explains in part the result of our recent election. We wanted a government that would protect us from the encroachment of Western values. Industrialization worries us for the same reason—its threat to the purity of our ancient values."

A COMMON THEME

"Human values seem identical everywhere," concluded Mr. Sam Sary. "Underneath varying social veneers the Chinese venerate Confucius; Indians, Gandhi; Americans, Jefferson and Lincoln. All these leaders personify the same values—courage, sacrifice, devotion, resignation, love of peace. The problem is to determine what must be done so that human values flourish everywhere. Here we run into failure. For example, Cambodia needs fertilizer, dams, irrigation, seed, the material bases on which the achievement of spiritual and intellectual values rest. Yet what we receive from America are touring cars, refrigerators, sex films, and other luxuries. If human values are to flourish and cooperation strengthen between states, each country must be helped according to its own needs and with respect for its own values, and not become the dumping place for the luxury products, the overproduction, the shoddier values of others."

Said Dr. Tan: "In the Philippines we are at a crossroads between the cultures of East and West. We seek to choose the best from yours and save the best in ours. But we are unable to resist the jazz, the gum chewing, the sex laxity, the other dross you send us. We don't blame the West for these things—we must take the bitter with the sweet—but we are trying to minimize these evils.

Our Board of National Education strives to preserve the values we regard as important. As opposed to the American idea of separating church and state, for example, we are revising our school curricula to include optional religious instruction. We hope in this way to offset some of the evil values you send our way."

"Strong and victorious people," added Mr. Tay, "intoxicated with their glory, often tend to esteem their own ways as the best for themselves and for the world. Whatever may be its customs, habits, or technical work methods, what is adopted in the United States is far from what is done in Asian countries. Laos, for example, respectful of its tradition and proud of its historic past, enjoys ways of life utterly different from Americans. Americans do not know our traditions and values. Relations between us would benefit from better knowledge and observations of our customs. America's tendency is to favor the countries which please it. A small country like Laos, which has never harmed anyone, is neither understood nor is it paid much attention."

Said Dr. Djohan: "Indonesia's values are expressed in our Pantja Sila, the five principles underlying our state. These are belief in God, nationalism, humanism, sovereignty of the people, and social justice."

"Pakistan," said Professor Sharif, "will never sacrifice the freedom of the individual, even if development can be sped up by totalitarianism. Islam is an essentially democratic community."

Bhanumathi and Bhaskar, native dancers from India, as they appeared in a special dance program held in Washington in connection with the Conference.

Speaking of the United States, Mr. Kestnbaum confessed that "American society is so complex, few can explain it. Its spirit is understood neither at home, by its own practitioners, nor abroad. Man's early tradition was to prepare on this earth for the life hereafter. Then, with the Renaissance, the idea of man conquering his environment came into being. We Americans are still in the process of liberating ourselves from our environment, and seem interested primarily in material matters. When this job is done, we too may occupy ourselves with the spiritual and other problems of older societies. Our contribution today is mastery of the resources of nature, the application of techniques that provide a material basis of life for all men, everywhere, and free men for inquiry into the spiritual. Though we seek the good life, we despise it if it is imposed upon us. We think it is better for the citizen to go wrong in his own way than to go the right way coerced by government. Our society must be seen as a means to an end, a moment in history, and consistent with the best ideals and values of East and West."

Dr. Gardner attempted a further explanation of America's values. "Values," he began, "merge from events, from experience, and I recall the 18 years I served as pastor in a Presbyterian Church in one of the most highly industrial towns in the world. In this city the materials for the first atomic pile were made, and here was fabricated the gondola for the balloon in which man made his highest ascent into space. Here I spent hundreds of hours talking with scientists, managers, workers and their wives. I found that their thought reached out to new dimensions of time, space, process, and existence itself. They realized that in terms of time, civilization is but a few minutes old. Man has made some beginnings in finding his place on mysterious mother earth. He probes at birth patterns, sees the recurring upthrust from the inorganic, recognizes the potential of a million habitable planets with life cycles born and being born in the cosmos. Order, beauty, truth exist to infinity. There is interplay between the inorganic, the organic, the psychical, mental, and social processes. No aspect can be understood apart from its relationships. We push back our 'theoretic component' and we feel the 'aesthetic component';[1] and those young scientists love and respond to the challenge of it. Man belongs; he relates; existence is his home with its amazing mechanisms of continuity, its plans, its unfolding, its shaping and reshaping. And within the whole there

[1] F. S. C. Northrop, *The Meeting of East and West* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1946).

appears a Deep Source of the eternal thrust toward beauty, truth, form, and flow. Man, who is personal, feels the Source and Presence as personal also. In such patterns, the reach toward the spiritual emerges. And so I conclude that the technical era will itself contribute to the spiritual, and to the aesthetic responses of men and what they call revelation. It will do something wherever it penetrates, and it will penetrate everywhere. In such a situation, in face of dynamic events and crises, the pathways of communication must remain open. East and West must have patience, sympathy, understanding. We must remember that we are walking together."

BRIDGING THE GAPS

In some areas where wide divergencies might have been expected, none developed. In others, where unanimity seemed certain, disagreement occurred. Peace, for example, was suggested by one Asian as mankind's preeminent value, the abolition of war man's noblest duty. Another Asian, dissenting, held up the desirability of defensive war. And an American interposed the opinion that man should not take the position that death by war is worse than death by starvation or controllable disease. "All threats to mankind's survival," he said, "deserve equal thought, effort, and restraint."

Inexorably from the interchange emerged a deep sense that goals and values of Asians and Americans are essentially the same. That, in Dr. Malalasekera's phrase, "all are facets of the same diamond." That in philosophically general terms, all peoples frame their absolute values in the same way. That to all peoples, human values are precious. Respect for human dignity, the worth of the individual personality, the belief that man is sacred, himself an end and not to be used as means—these were identified as universal ideas and not confined to either East or West. Devotion to truth, hunger for knowledge, the desire not to be misled, a respect for schools, research, education, truthful information—these are shared by all peoples.

In the sphere of international values, however, it was agreed that Asians and Americans have much to learn from each other. From America, it was felt by some, Asia might borrow the spirit of democracy that America has made a feature of its culture. Its productivity, not necessarily of all its luxuries, but of essential items. Its efficiency in work. Its dignity of labor. Its sense of self-respect and of self-help. Its higher living standards, with the reservation that in leveling up the general living standard, the standards of those already too high need not be lifted further. Its conception of equality between sexes, though not necessarily in all professions. Its material comfort, though not at

the expense of spiritual values. Its public services. Its personal freedom, excepting freedoms accorded youth which lead to promiscuity. Its facilities for education and research. Its mass communications. Its effort, finally, to conquer nature—although to this Dr. Malalasekera took exception. "We don't want to conquer nature, but to go along with it. We don't want to poison our oceans and ourselves with nuclear conflicts. We don't want, as New Zealand did, to exterminate all animal life in a scientific effort to rid the country of rats." To which an American responded, "America seeks not to conquer nature, but to assist it."

From Asia there was broad agreement that the United States could learn spiritual values obtainable only through intellectual, emotional and volitional concentration of one's entire being on the comprehension of reality, as opposed to purely intellectual contemplation. America might borrow Asia's conception of universality and its humility before God. Asia's self-control, its purity of motive, its tender affections—expressed in family feeling, attentiveness to children, and sex morality also—it was felt by some discussants held lessons for Americans. And Americans, finally, might lay greater stress, as Asia does, on the development of the individual human personality.

That East and West could take whole, or borrow, or imitate the other's unique values were, it was believed, false assumptions. They could only adapt. For it was clear each country represented in the discussion boasts a culture of great richness. Even within these cultures values are not simple, nor are the institutions associated with them simple. Much of the social life in any culture consists of a broad range of values within which clashes of greater or less severity occur. Official national values are rejected by individual citizens and even by whole groups of citizens. Thus within a multicultural world, one value, tolerance, deserved precedence over all others. Only tolerance could tide men over a time when their oldest, truest values are reeling under the shock of man's newest value, technological change.

"The forces of science are released," concluded Mr. Baird, "whether we like it or not. Whatever our wishes, they are irresistible. Philosophers and leaders of religion can channel these forces to enrich men's lives, but they cannot stand still and say 'we don't want it.' "

III. *The Clash Between Old and New Ideas*

The problem arising from collision between ancient values and modern machines was posed succinctly by an Asian. "If we Asians do not succeed in rapid, effective industrialization, our freedom may be lost. If popular expectation of material improvement is frustrated, responsible governments will fall. National survival depends on success; but success demands answers to certain questions. How can we develop industrially and at the same time assure justice and equality? How can we maintain political democracy as opposed to force? Must we impose on our people skills, schedules, ways of life, behavior patterns essential to technology? Or can we preserve ancient values whilst industrializing? These questions are given special urgency by the presence of Russia and China at our elbows. We need America's help in answering them now, at the beginning of our industrial revolution."

The Americans made it clear at once that they had no easy answers. "Our countries," said Mr. Kronkhite, "are not very different in this matter. All of us are trying to protect ourselves from spiritual erosion while undergoing a long and arduous journey. Difficulties are inevitable."

"There is an inherent dynamism in industrialization," said Dr. Goheen, "which creates demand, which in its satisfaction creates further demand. I am not sure this is a good thing. There ought somewhere to be a break. How it can occur without arresting economic development is a problem America faces."

THE EFFECTS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

Professor Tyler touched on other problems America's industrialization posed and which, to date, remain unsolved. "Mass production, the 'belt system,' have serious effects on the individual. They deprive him of the satisfaction of fulfillment, of seeing the end product of his labor. Family relationships are replaced by factory relationships. Individuals are isolated in large cities. Old methods of child discipline relax and are not replaced by new. Delinquency, neuroses result. Cultural breakdowns occur, especially in mass media. We are making progress, but we have not solved these problems. We are not big brothers with ready answers. Like Asians, we too are working, studying, seeking."

An American technician shows Asian visitors equipment used in the Phoenix Atomic Energy Laboratory in Ann Arbor, Mich.

To this catalog Mr. McGloughlin, after describing the Southern States' industrial revolution culminating in a readiness to adopt 20th century value patterns, added certain fears—"fears of the destruction of the accustomed; fear of loss of gentleness and leisureliness; fear of the loss of friendliness and warmth; fear of dirt, noise, pollution, smells; fear of immigrants—of disharmony in a community caused by outsiders attracted by opportunities to work." Countering these fears, he said, were certain measures the South was taking—the diffusion of industry, the development of new power sources, the avoidance of slums, the gradual acceptance of Federal aid in industrialization.

"The United States," added Dr. Day, "enjoys an economy of abundance, but abundance doesn't extend to all. Many of us still lack the necessities of life. Many of us are still underprivileged. Our problem is not under- or overproduction or distribution, but maldistribution. Asia may have as much to learn from our weaknesses as from our strengths." Other Americans echoed these misgivings. Without questioning the logic of industrialization, they expressed their concern about standardization, dynamism of demand, vulgarization of taste, the danger that a machine culture might tend to develop a type of mind adapted to running machines, rather than to speculation and creativity.

At the same time, they urged upon Asians an awareness of industrialization's positive values, and Dr. Spilhaus reminded the Conference that "industrialization is not new in man's experience. It began when man became a herdsman and farmer instead of a hunter. From then on, it is all a matter of degree. Man has for centuries sought to control his environment to supply his needs.

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The invention of tools for this purpose has gone on in sudden spurts, spreading from place to place. Civilization itself means production of manufactured goods and not simply raw materials. The current problem rises from the enormous development of technology at a speed faster than man can comprehend and relate to himself as a person. Mass production for the benefit of very large numbers of people invokes the integration of many industries, the interdependence of many nations. This in turn invites organization, and organization, touching on basic values, creates social and political problems as well as inner turmoil and tension in the individual."

AMERICA'S INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

On this canvas of common experience and misgivings, the Americans then painted in broad strokes the complex design of their own industrial society as they individually perceived it, attempting in the process to highlight concepts useful to their Asian friends. Varying widely in their conception and interpretation of the American phenomenon, on one point the Americans agreed. In Mr. Isaacs' words: "The Asians are under some illusions that industrialization has been completed in the United States. It is still evolutionary. It has moved from the excesses of laissez faire to the excesses of labor, and it is now moving in the direction of industrial democracy. There are evils, but they are slowly being eliminated. Industrialization has an intrinsic capacity to produce remedies for the evils. It is a process, not a fait accompli."

Delving deeply into the process, Mr. Kestnbaum traced the American economy back to its early political sources. "Our country was founded in protest to government forced upon us by England. Like the Asians, we were dissatisfied with external rule. We started our own national life with fear of too much power in a centralized government. We adopted a constitution based on a federal system, delegating certain powers to a federal government, reserving other powers to the States. This lies behind our system of checks and balances, our limitations on central government, our Bill of Rights, our resistance to planning and power concentration in any form. It also creates problems in such matters as civil rights. A strong unitary government would have little trouble dealing with segregation in the South. But our heritage is to leave such matters to the States. 'That government is best that governs least,' has always been our national adage. We were brought up with these ideas and find them still with us amid the problems and complexities of the 20th century.

"Within this framework," Mr. Kestnbaum went on, "we have an industrial system. This system has produced visible benefits, and also many problems.

To the solution of these problems we bring the egalitarian philosophy, the bias against power-concentration inherited from our past. We seek for all our people a good life, one in which the individual has a large degree of political freedom and a large degree of the material well-being essential to the enjoyment and maintenance of that freedom. We believe the individual is not really free if he is so occupied with the struggle for existence that he has no leisure.

"We have substituted the machine for the slave, materially eliminated unpleasant, dangerous, bestial labor, reduced work hours from 60 to 40 hours, created clean, comfortable, pleasant conditions for labor. But these are simply means to an end and not an end in itself. The end is to liberate our citizens so they are free. Free for what? It is hard to say. Freedom can be used for virtue or for mischief."

THE WAGE-SLAVE MYTH

Mr. Kestnbaum then explored some of the advertised evils of American industrialization. "It is not precisely true," he said, "that the American worker is a slave to the assembly line. The largest industry in the United States in terms of persons employed is education. We look forward to an increase in the proportion of our population engaged in rendering services. As our industrial machine gets more efficient and more highly mechanized, it continues to produce more goods with fewer people. Automation will not create large scale unemployment. On the contrary, it will release from industry workers that will be vitally needed in the fields of health, government, welfare, entertainment, travel, and the like, and not in direct assembly-line production. More than any society in history, we have engineers, managers, machinists doing work of a challenging, nonroutine nature. The number of unskilled jobs in our society is declining. The semiskilled jobs are increasing. Our great shortages are in fields requiring skills.

"Once we regarded education as two grades in elementary school. Today education implies high school graduation. We have the greatest proportion of population in the world in college. More Negroes attend our colleges than the total student body in European colleges. The means for all of this derives from our industrial system. Defects blemish this system, but not those described by Karl Marx in 1848. The concentration of industrial power, for example, is a dated criticism. Directors of large corporations don't see much concentration of power. The president of General Motors appears humbly before the Senate and constantly seeks to salve public opinion. To the degree that industrial power-concentrations exist, we feel we can better control them by government

than to control power concentrated in government. Our Government is in a position to limit power-concentration in business and has in the past forced large corporations like Standard Oil to divest themselves of power. Business, generally, is in professional hands. Few large enterprises are managed by owners. Most are owned by stockholders, with dispersion the rule. No individual, for instance, owns more than 3 percent of the stock of the American Telephone and Telegraph Corporation. The charge of power-concentration in American industry is exaggerated and is becoming less true all the time."

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN AN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

"Our tradition tells us it is better that government does not interfere with free enterprise. But the depression told us that certain things like unemployment can't be tolerated, even in a free society. All industrial nations face the specter of unemployment. All societies must assume responsibility for it. No democracy can operate in face of large-scale unemployment. And so in 1946 we passed an unemployment act. Coupled with the passage in 1916 of a progressive income tax, we have the two most far-reaching social actions ever taken by government—equalizing wide differences in economic status and reducing the suffering of unemployment. Thus we are adapting our inherited philosophy to current problems, to new situations, to the threat of a conflicting ideology, without a major revolution."

Mr. Kestnbaum admitted that industrialization can be achieved without capitalism. "But it is our experience," he concluded, "that if a society is interested in maximum freedom for the individual, the most promising system is private capitalism responsive to public criticism and guidance. This is something of a luxury, admittedly, and is not necessarily the most efficient system in the short run. Many new countries feel maximum progress over the short run requires government regulation. But to us freedom of individual choice is more precious than maximum efficiency."

OUR MIXED ECONOMY

Mr. Kronkhite strove for a definition of America's economy. "Ours is not really an industralized society," he said, "but one aiming at creative productivity. Ours is not a capitalistic economy, but a labor economy. Capitalism, the concentration of economic power, needed a corrective, and labor supplied it. The next stage is to correct power-abuse by labor. The chief characteristic of our democracy is that it is self-corrective."

Dr. Gittelsohn took issue with certain nuances in the above arguments. "We don't have a laboristic economy," he said, "but a mixed economy. Nor is it true that we don't have excessive monopoly because millions of Americans own stock in corporations. The small fraction of stock each owns gives very little power to the stockholders. Nor do I accept the phrase 'self-corrective.' It implies error will correct itself automatically. On the contrary, we must act to correct; we must persistently, consciously apply correctives. My complaint with our society is that we start with major industrialization and think how much of spiritual value we can squeeze in. I think we should start with essential human values, and then arrive at the amount of industrialization we need."

Mr. Kronkhite accepted the term "mixed economy" as descriptive, but added: "Our economy is not to be denominated at any one stage. It is always changing. We are not even against socialism if it means the general good. But we have never been able to find anyone to show us the way. We have found it better to let people alone—to let a man make lipstick if he chooses, and then tax him. The taxes provide money to spend on essentials. In short, productivity here is linked with free inquiry and the broadest opportunity. We prefer these, even the errors they invite, to dictation by any one group or state. We fear bureaucracy. We fear giving any one man power to decide."

Noting that all economics are matters of balance—that one must give something to get something—Dr. Beggs measured the visible benefits of American industrialization against certain of its effects. "Some of these effects," he said, "are first a tendency toward increasing concentration of control over business enterprises. Second, a need for government to undertake policies to stimulate employment. Third, a need for adjustment in agricultural and industrial prices. Fourth, a need to control money and credit for preventing inflation and deflation. Fifth, the need for labor legislation for both the protection and control of labor. Sixth, the oppressive weight of increasing taxation, not alone for public services, but for redistributing the national income. Despite these," Dr. Beggs concluded, "our economy runs at high level because business men maintain high levels of expectation, of growth, investment and employment."

Mr. Kronkhite, had he been present in San Francisco, where Dr. Beggs spoke, would not have agreed on the first of these effects. Using General Motors as a case in point, he described it "actually as a collection or amalgamation of many small businesses. Even its departments are subdivided into smaller businesses. Big congeries are combinations of lots of little ones. Workers in such congeries are better cared for than in many small businesses. And when corporations

succeed in satisfying large numbers of people over long periods of time, producing better products at lower prices, we can't snub them any more than you can tell a good politician not to get too many votes. The touchstone of a system," he concluded, "is, can it improve the lot of the masses, leave inquiry free, leave initiative untrammeled? Government bureaucracy provides no test of efficiency. Our free enterprise system does. It continually sets itself pragmatic tests and meets them. It is not perfect, but on balance, it keeps power in private hands and out of government. And private power is controlled by minimum laws to safeguard the consuming public."

Yet another definition of the nature of America's economy was offered by an observer. "Our economy," he said, "is more mixed than most people realize. We have Government ownership, private ownership, and cooperative ownership. The last, not large, is growing, and serves as a balance wheel. Cooperatives represent consumers. Ten million members are organized to serve their own interests in America today."

Three of the Asian visitors pinpoint the positions of their homelands on the globe for Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., who served as chairman of the first Conference. Left to right are Mr. Sam Sary of Cambodia, Dr. Sukich Nimmanheminda of Thailand, Mr. Blaisdell, and Dr. Tay Keolouangkhot of Laos.

In an effort to reconcile these varying definitions of American industrialization, Dr. Spilhaus offered one of his own: "To maximize the improvement of living conditions of mankind, and minimize the use of natural resources. Profit-making business must equalize the two parts of this definition. But this definition is inherently moral and can operate under any system. It gives time to men to meditate, to be educated, to enjoy life, to pursue happiness."

IV. *The Impact of Industrialization on the Individual*

Attentive to the Americans' projection of the broad bases and characteristics of their economic institutions, it was on the human impact that the Asians focused their interest and fears. In Dr. Trinh's words, "Is the worker proud of his factory's final product? In the name of progress, are individual initiative, a sense of creativeness lost? Does the machine operator consider himself a man, or just another machine?"

MASS PRODUCTION, AUTOMATION, AND LEISURE TIME

Dr. Beggs replied that, "characteristically, in an industrial economy, the entrepreneur does not concern himself with the creative opportunity of his employees. But industry today is giving more efforts to the assignment of personnel to tasks for which they have the ability and desire. Industry is also giving attention to off-hour activities of employees. Programs of recreation, of making employees part of the plant family, are coming along. In a cultural sense, they have not gone far."

Dr. Gardner, reverting to his highly industrialized parish, recalled that the introduction of machinery invigorated thought not only about the implications of automation but about the utilization of the leisure it promised. "Already," he said, "the city's life is enriched by community activities like choirs, scouting, drama, sports, all made possible by leisure provided by the machine." This optimistic observation was balanced by an assertion that many workers use their leisure in a purely passive, spectator sense, or seek creative expression in do-it-yourself activities, rather than in ways of involving contemplation.

Mr. Ames observed that, "Mass production means the quality of the article may suffer, but the quality of the machinery itself is superb. This machinery itself must be made and a large percentage of American workers takes satisfaction in creating it. There is a sense of teamwork, too, in mass production. Each man plays his role as in a gun crew. All must be able to do anything on the gun. A man must feel with all his senses when all is not well. So there is skill and pride as a team member, and a large percentage are artisans in their field. In Nepal, 10 men in a row, hoeing by hand, have no greater sense of teamwork than 10 American artisans making parts for a printing press. And the man who can operate several machines derives, in addition, satisfaction from his mastery over them."

Dr. English reminded the group that every day new patents are granted people who apparently can still invent and create and whose inventions often set up small industries. And that incentives are given within large industry—rewards for efficiency, suggestions, other contributions by workers to the betterment of production and end-products.

Dr. Spilhaus, reemphasizing the views that machines ennoble man's work, replace day-long, backbreaking labor, and provide time for leisure, added: "More and more, big industry enables its workers to participate directly in profits through stockholding and profit sharing arrangements. American workers thereby not only feel a sense of partnership but can afford to buy and enjoy the fruits of their production, whereas in older forms of production, only a minority can enjoy hand-finished products. The nostalgia for hand work is misplaced," he concluded. "The population of the world is too great today to have its needs thus satisfied. In the long run the mechanical principle is not to be indicted but rather the quality of the article."

INDUSTRIALIZATION AND SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

"But," asked Dr. Sukich, "does not industrialization increase alcoholism, delinquency, neuroses? What is the American experience in this matter?"

"Alcoholism," Dr. Burbridge replied, "is an urban condition and therefore associated with industrialization; but it is not to be attributed solely to it. Actually the United States ranks eleventh in the world in respect to alcoholism; our reputation for heavy drinking is due more to lurid press accounts than to fact." Other American replies included the belief that "alcohol is not a disease but a symptom. It can be attributed to glandular deficiency or to an effort to escape reality. We do not know the real circumstances that cause it."

And still another: "Alcoholism is not an increasing problem in the United States and not associated with industrialization at all. It is confined, rather, to certain ethnic groups."

As for delinquency, Dr. Tyler referred to an investigation by the United States Senate. "A summation of the testimony," he said, "revealed not enough knowledge to determine its causes. A few hypotheses were advanced, such as that delinquency is caused by an environment too complex for the satisfaction of the individual's needs. Or failure within the home to train children to internalize, or feel at home with, their environment. It is hard for children to adjust to the complexity of urban life. Little evidence came out relating delinquency directly with industrialization or with films, comics, and other cultural perversions."

Other Americans noted the effect of America's high mobility rate on delinquency: "Rapid, extreme changes of environment are upsetting to youth. Counteracting forces like scouting, the church, PTA, and other activities lack the chance to get to the roots of the problem." "Delinquency," it was further stated, "is news, while nondelinquency or factors militating against delinquency are not news. The world has an exaggerated view of its incidence in America."

Neuroses were also dissociated from industrialization by some of the American discussants. "Major psychoses," one explained, "are not caused by environment but spring from organic sources. Studies would show neuroses in all cultures and disprove its higher incidence in industrial societies." And further: "Recent studies disprove the theory that increasing tension produces mental illness. The fact is that industrialization exposes illness, sends the neurotic persons to hospitals, and focuses attention on them. In rural societies such people never emerge. The reason for more hypertension, moreover, lies in the fact that the United States has more people in older age groups. All in all, medical evidence to sustain a relationship between neurosis and industrialization is regarded as unimpressive."

A minority of Americans demurred. "In the United States," said Dr. Mosel, "we have developed psychiatry more than anywhere else because we have more nuts here than anywhere else." "Neuroses," said Dr. Spencer, "grow because of a break with nature." Mr. Ames added: "Speed and pressure of occupation affect the attitudes of people who can't keep up. Standards are higher than people can achieve. Neurosis, especially at upper social levels, is the result." Whatever the scientific evidence, certain Americans insisted, as did the Asians, that any break with nature and tradition, any situation offering people a multiplicity of choices, created anxiety and induced neurosis.

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Asians and Americans frequently appeared on radio and television during the month-long series of discussions. Shown at the University of Michigan television studio, left to right, are Dr. Vidal Tan, President of the University of the Philippines; Dr. Robert Angell, Professor of Sociology at the University of Michigan; Dr. Tay Keolouangkhot, Director General of the Ministry of Education of Laos, and Dr. Bahder Djohan, President of the University of Indonesia.

MASS MEDIA AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

To Asians who asked about the relationship between delinquency and American comic books and films that depict violence and immorality, several Americans admitted that literature, films, and mass media tend in an industrial society toward vulgarization. "People who never before had the time, ability, or money to read, or purchase entertainment, now read trash and see films of admitted poor quality. But many more," it was added, "are reading good literature, listening to good music, enjoying the A films made possible by the B films." Psychological studies were described, proving that literature and films dealing with violence affected youth badly only when they glorified violence. The fact that delinquency is often related to films and literature, it was said, is due to the tendency of delinquents to excuse their behavior by laying the blame on certain films or comics. The distortion of youthful values by films and comics had never, in fact, been proved. Preoccupation with status, rather than comics and bad films, was suggested as a real cause of delinquency. Young

people wanting to make themselves known in society, and unsure of the areas where status can be achieved, transgress law.

No clean-cut link between social ills and industrialization was forged by the discussants. Some Americans shared the Asians' uneasiness. Others either rationalized the ills charged against their industrial society or denied that, in a scientific sense, the problems existed. Much of the critical appraisal of industrialization's social aftermath, they implied, was based on standards growing out of agricultural life and not fully adjusted to the change to an industrial society.

Such arguments left the Asians unconvinced. "Too many of us," in Dr. Tan's words, "know from experience the impact on our own people, especially our youth, of America's cultural exports to accept these explanations. We have seen the rash of violence that breaks out when, for example, a film like *Rebel Without A Cause* is shown in our theaters." And Dr. Rao said bluntly: "If the impression you seek to give is that you have no social problems, and that we in India have nothing to fear from the industrial upsurge, let me go home!"

After a reappraisal of the facts, there was some agreement that in any industrialized society, maladjustment is greater than in a simpler society. That, in the United States, social adaptation has not been able to keep pace with the swiftness of industrialization, causing some disabilities in an impatient society. That one of America's most pressing needs is to bring forward social studies and to keep them abreast of its industrial progress.

Asians were reminded, however, in the words of an observer, that "industrialization is a period of gestation painful up to the point of delivery, after which the pain is forgotten. We in America are in a period of stirring, of quest. Once our bodies are freed from arduous labor, people will be able to concentrate on social relationships, from the cause and conquest of neurosis to the achievement of peace."

Dr. Gittelsohn summed up the conferees' main conclusion, and launched them on a new wave of discussion. "We have, perforce, achieved an industrial state at the cost of many evils we confront today. The $64,000 question is, can Asia achieve our industrialization without repeating our growing pains and errors?"

V. *New Forces in Southeast Asia*

In their conviction that throughout the Asian continent there was an urge toward economic development, the Asians were as one. "There is no doubt that technology is a good thing," said Dr. Rao, "or that increased productivity of labor, a greater abundance of goods and services are desirable. Our people are impatient for them. For 300 years they were denied any opportunity for economic development. Now, with political freedom, they expect results, and fast! This is dangerous for desire outruns accomplishment. However, the will is there and through our Five-Year Plan we are making progress. Our first Five-Year Plan had two objectives: to repair the damage of war and partition and to plan our future course. Both have been substantially achieved and the people as a result have confidence that their environment can be licked. It can be licked, we believe, through purposive, nationally integrated, collectively progressive planning—planning based not on 19th-century capitalism but on 20th century reality."

INDIA LOOKS AHEAD

"There is much in industrialization, however, that we do not want. We don't want an economy with a few rich and many poor. We don't want wide differences in living standards. We don't want concentration of economic power—giant corporations controlling production and communication channels. We don't want power distributed disproportionately to votes. We don't want surplus or savings spent on luxury living. We don't want freedom to invest savings on anything one pleases, such as soft drinks, lipsticks and air conditioned cars, before our basic needs are satisfied. We don't want America's dynamism of demand—the unquenchable desire for the newest, the biggest, the best. We don't want an ever-increasing, ever-expanding economy. If these things mean capitalism, we don't want it.

"At the same time, neither do we want a bureaucratic society and an all-embracing state. We don't want class war or resort to force. We don't want Karl Marx. Instead, we believe in education, evolution, the fullest development of the individual personality. We believe in widest dispersion of economic power among small men in trade, agriculture, and industry. We believe in a brand of socialism that draws its spiritual strength from the traditions of our own society.

"We face," Dr. Rao continued, "great obstacles—lack of capital resources and even ignorance of our national resources. We lack technical, managerial, and administrative skills. We don't have enough capitalists. Our rich men are financiers rather than producers, more interested in profits than in reducing costs. We lack the large creative element in American capitalism. Our very political democracy creates difficulties. It inhibits the use of force. The cold war is an impediment—the threat that our neighbors may be armed against us and that to enjoy access to the world's resources we must join one bloc or another.

"We are worried, too, about the problem of bureaucracy. We dislike governmental bureaucracy. It is worse than managerial, capitalistic bureaucracy, although the two have much in common. We think there is a relationship between size and bureaucracy. We are not against size as such, but we want to avoid the social, political, and cultural disadvantages of size. We think the answer is community control of large factories, such as steel and fertilizer, and more cooperatives in small industries and farming, such as the sugar factory set up by a farmers' cooperative in the Deccan. We oppose state collectivization. We believe that the more we can decentralize and disperse our enterprise, the more likely we are to succeed. We believe small units give workers a better chance for individual fulfillment, a sense of creativity, a self-identification with the end-product."

INDONESIA'S "MUTUAL HELP"

Agreeing, Dr. Djohan added: "Indonesia also fears the effects of large-scale industrialization. We think it would be bad for Indonesia, where the village is the cornerstone of our economy and where family life, based on the idea of 'one for all and all for one,' is strong. In building its economy, Indonesia falls back on ancient custom, exemplified in *Gotong Rojong,* meaning 'mutual help.'

"This principle dominates our national life. It served us through three centuries of colonialism and enabled us to survive the Japanese occupation. It is the source of our democracy, our solidarity, our tolerance, our strength. It has produced over 10,000 cooperatives in Indonesia. Step by step our people are raising their own economic level, building small-scale village industries, establishing small rubber plantations and rice mills.

"Even in the far future, we don't want concentration of capital in a few hands. We prefer economic power in the family group, the cultural group, and in national groups such as our parliament and state bodies. With a population of 80 million, with an annual increase of one and a half million people per year,

with an inheritance of 90 percent illiteracy, with serious inequalities in population density, with rich but underdeveloped natural resources, we feel planning is necessary. We have a Minister of Planning in our Cabinet. Our planning embraces industrialization, agricultural development, education, transmigration. All these, in some degree, must be thought through and controlled by the state.

"We get the impression," Dr. Djohan concluded, "that America believes there are only two alternatives in economic development—capitalism and communism. We believe there is a third way, one we have practiced for centuries—cooperation. Cooperatives are neither pure freedom in an American sense nor communism, but a combination: free groupings of free personalities. We are creating through them small-scale industries that are the seeds of bigger industry but always under the control of state, community, and family factors."

DOLLAR CONTROL AND STATE PLANNING

Dr. Tan remarked that the Philippines is not afraid of big corporations. "Our Constitution gives the state power to control them. It specifies social justice. We can control our dollar supply so that our wealth is spent on needed items, and not for luxuries. Our problem is a lack of economists. We make and scrap five-year plans. We lack financial resources but think we can overcome this through foreign loans. The biggest obstacles to our economic development are Huks, Communists, bandits. They, not big business, constitute the main threat to our progress."

Speaking of Pakistan, Professor Sharif credited the West with having restored to his people a dynamic view of life that they had forgotten. At the same time, he believed Western economic development would have to be modified or adapted to local conditions. "Our aim is not wealth, but self-sufficiency and beyond that only the production of those things which we have and others lack. Since we are at the beginning of our industrialization, we feel we can control production levels. We can benefit from America's experience, adapting the good, avoiding the bad. We can manage our economic affairs so that they do not interfere with our spiritual values. We see technology as a two-edged sword. It can increase man's material well-being, or it can destroy him. Thus our insistence on the preeminence of spiritual and emotional values. We do not want to drift, even to our own betterment. It is our responsibility to adapt our surroundings to ourselves rather than to adapt ourselves to our surroundings. We want to direct our course, avoiding the faults we see in Western civilization. To accomplish these aims, planning is essential."

Dr. Malalasekera recalled that Ceylon had once been self-sufficient, thanks to a well-developed irrigation system. "Then the Europeans came and introduced tin and rubber plantations to provide money instead of food. The result is that today, although we are primarily an agrarian economy, we must import two-thirds of our basic food requirements. Lacking power, funds, large-scale industry, and with a surplus of nothing but labor, we see the solutions to our problem not in uncontrolled individual enterprise but in some sort of state planning. We do not have enough capital to exploit free enterprise activities. Government will have to provide the means."

THE PROBLEMS OF PROGRESS

U Lu Pe Win qualified the acknowledged need in Burma for industrialization. "It is not," he said, "an unmixed blessing. We have had the experience of importing a cotton mill and setting it up only to discover that it could not process Burmese cotton. We then had to import cotton to use in that mill. We fear, as a result, the investment of capital not adapted to our special requirements. Though we need industrialization, we also feel the need for awareness of where to stop. Agriculturally we are concerned with the overproduction of rice, and mechanization may be limited in this field. It is necessary to limit luxury goods. Although a Socialist state, our country is in an experimental stage. We want to learn all we can from foreign capitalists. For direction we rely not only on our National Planning Commission but also on our Buddhist teaching. We reflect on the laws of change and that human necessities remain the same. There is a time for a son to enjoy life; but he must realize that, although he is rich for a day, in the evening all will be gone. He must behave himself and qualify for the next life. A bee will not harm a flower but he gets all the honey. A son must realize this in the way he lives. A busy, acquisitive life without time or place for contemplation, for privacy, is not for us."

Cambodia's economy was described by Mr. Sam Sary as "a defensive mechanism against military realities. We have not yet recovered from the recent war, and we are surrounded by new war potentials. Our present plan calls for increased productivity in all fields, relying on foreign aid. The sector controlled by the state is small compared with the free sector. Our economy is not industrial, nor is it instinctive with us to collectivize. Cooperatives are not natural and have been resisted. In short, we are like a young man who is not decided about his future. We have not yet determined the road we will take toward industrialization or the economic system that for us is the best."

Mr. Tay pointed out that Laos also gives priority to security. "Our economy is poor, agricultural, with almost no industry. We would like to industrialize but can't for lack of funds and experience. Our Constitution is designed to permit both development of private enterprise and, in certain areas, nationalization. Pressure for industrialization we recognize is inevitable. When it comes we will be interested in what American experience can teach us."

VI. *A Look at Socialism*

Certain reservations Americans entertain about Asian socialism and state planning were voiced by Dr. Beggs. "We know you need capital for development and the creation of technical skills. We are interested in helping provide them. Programs of economic aid may not be the healthiest way for us or for you. World Bank loans may not be too efficacious, since the Bank is conservative and demands government guaranties. American private or corporate capital, perhaps, deserves to be looked on with more favor than the other capital sources. But investment in Asia invites risks not present at home. Currency restrictions, the threat of expropriation, local restrictions on capital, restrictions on personnel, severance pay ordinances, Socialist practices generally, discourage the American investor. Returns are too low to invite an increase in the rate of our private investment in Asia. The responsibility for this investment climate is yours. We would appreciate some explanation of the socialism to which you aspire."

Dr. Rao replied, "Misunderstanding exists, both in India and abroad, of our economic philosophy. It is confused by some with Marxism. Marxist socialism postulates the existence of divergent class and property interests; of class consciousness between employer and employed, exploiter and exploited; it postulates violence as the sole solution to economic dilemmas, the exploitee overthrowing the exploiter. It does not envisage change brought about democratically by the ballot box. Marxist socialism believes in exploiting revolutionary situations, in bloodshed, in the liquidation of propertied classes, in indoctrination of the masses.

"Indian socialism is also characterized by divergent interests of those in economic power and those who are not. Also there is class awareness. Workers know they suffer from managers and bosses, and they want a change. But

we do not want hatred and violence. We repudiate and reject class warfare, force, proletarian dictatorship, totalitarianism. We believe a political democracy can bring about public control of basic factors of production such as steel, transport, and electricity, with fullest preservation of civil rights and freedoms. As for expropriation, India has an excellent record, as good as Finland's, on its foreign obligations. India would never commit the stupidities of Russia and Eastern Europe. We know it is to our own interest to play fair—that it is stupid, as well as unfair, to nationalize and not compensate. Our Socialist movement," Dr. Rao summed up, "is built on spiritual, not materialistic foundations. It seeks economic justice, equality and full regard for human values."

Professor Sharif observed that "while Pakistan believes in private enterprise, she also believes in planning insofar as it is consistent with democracy."

"Burma's socialism," commented U Lu Pe Win, "is tempered by Buddhism. We want to ward off Marxist communism based on hatred and bloodshed. Buddhism doesn't recognize class distinction. It views all men as equal—beggar, farmer, rich man, and intellectual. Our socialism is not to be regarded by outsiders with fear, suspicion, or anxiety." Dr. Malalasekera also denied that Ceylon's new government was Communist and anti-West. "It will not introduce revolutionary changes. As Buddhists, we abhor even violence of thought."

Dr. Trinh stated that Viet-Nam had not yet openly chosen between socialism and capitalism. "Free enterprise, though not discouraged, remains subject to state planning. This is due to the fact that only the Government is in a position to draw an inventory of the country's needs and classify them according to their urgency, laying stress on tools rather than commodities. After 10 years of uninterrupted warfare, foreign capital has grown shy. An official control is necessary to restore its confidence and guarantee the security and efficiency of foreign and home investments."

Judge Whittemore reminded the group that "though socialism is a word Americans don't like, we have a lot of it in the United States. The Government is up to its ears in farm aid, for instance." Dr. Clark added: "Federal aid for health services has increased in 25 years from 10 percent to 25 percent and is still going up in the United States. Our road bill, now before Congress, also reflects Socialist tendencies. So do Social Security, Unemployment Relief, TVA, the Unemployment Act, the Federal Reserve Board, and the like. We planned our way through the transition from war to peace with a Committee for Economic Development—and just think of the number of Americans being cared for by Government in the Armed Forces!" And Mr. Fernbach concluded:

"As an American I am not afraid of the word 'planning.' We misrepresent ourselves to Asia. We believe in and are proud of planning in every phase of our national life."

THE "THIRD WAY"

Other Americans also agreed that socialism and government planning no longer frighten them. A "Third Way" was recognized as offering new, developing nations a way to evolve from agricultural economies of scarcity to the atomic age with less chance of failure than laissez faire systems would invite. Some Americans, however, remained skeptical. "What human mind or agency," one asked, "has the wisdom to predict the right way, to direct or to manipulate popular demands and needs? Such wisdom doesn't exist, or no one has ever found it." And Mr. Kronkhite prophesied, "You can't prevent the growth of large businesses in Asia. You have a large population. They will, in the long run, say what they want to buy. Any business that satisfies their needs will grow large and prosperous; and private individuals will own these businesses, not government. You may at the start have large numbers of small businesses. You may opt for state control. But natural selection, not legislation, will in the long run determine human actions and progress in your countries."

Against these views Dr. Rao marshaled the full weight of India's experience as he saw it. "Consider," he argued, "these factors underlying India's economy: We are extraordinarily poor, with an average annual income of $55, and millions living on less. Our population is large; our resources small. Our unemployment is huge, about 15 million, both among the educated and the illiterate. World War II disillusioned our people with our native industrialists who exploited war shortages, waxed rich on speculation and manipulation, and proved themselves financiers rather than producers. As a result, capitalism is associated in the popular mind with financial speculation and profit, and not production for the public good. The image of a capitalist in the Indian mind is a profiteer, a reactionary, eager to spend money on personal pleasure. America's image of a capitalist, remember, doesn't count in India. It is principally our own whom we know. And our people are hostile to the capitalists and to capitalism."

"On our thinking generally, Mahatma Gandhi had great influence. His economic theories—uplift for all, based on small-scale village industrialization—have a deep hold. Employment remains ever uppermost in the public mind. Any economic idea must be related to it. Village development, broad-scale small industry, maximum decentralization of economic power, reliance on manpower rather than overreliance on machines, all these enter the picture. And given our lack of capital resources, an order of priorities becomes essential.

"All these add up to a choice," Dr. Rao concluded. "Americans might say like Montesquieu, 'let power grow and then control it.' Our solution is social control, state planning, and socialism. When Nehru proposed this program, it electrified the country. By free vote, this was the path chosen by our people."

Balancing Dr. Rao's argument for socialism was a final word by Mr. Reuther: "The American belief," he said, "is that the only way to build a high living standard is by creating more wealth. Abundance, not scarcity, is the key to a higher living standard, and free enterprise is the key to our abundance. Asians may place greater reliance on government planning and control, but they should never forget that it is better in any dispute to deal with private individuals and enterprises than it is with government. I'd rather face General Motors any day in a collective bargaining arrangement than I would the United States Government. When government is neutral, the people are safe. But when government is owner, bargainer, and arbitrator, free collective bargaining becomes extremely difficult, if not in some situations impossible.

"Whatever their political or social organization," Mr. Reuther continued, "the people of Asia need to be organized in free, voluntary, nongovernmental groups if they are to maintain their freedom. Problems must be approached pragmatically rather than from a predetermined bias. Communism starts out with a theoretical predetermination to nationalize the entire economy. We start out to do things by free enterprise if we can, and fall back on government when we must. If you approach the problem of how best to meet peoples' needs practically and not theoretically, the free elements in your societies can, to the fullest degree, be preserved. The basic task in a free society is to develop the voluntary acceptance of broad social and moral responsibility on the part of all economic groups. As our economy becomes more complex and the interdependence of one group to the other becomes greater, we need to give increasing attention to bringing about a balance between our scientific, technical, and productive know-how with comparable human and moral know-why."

Between the more obdurate free-enterprisers and the Socialists no common ground developed. Among the Asians the belief remained firm that the state could control industrialization, reaping its benefits and rejecting many of its ills. To some Americans it seemed certain that, in taking the hide of industrialization, Asia would also have to take the tail. But agreement seemed general that each nation has the right to determine its own method of economic development. That the nature of an objective situation sometimes makes planning necessary. That in some form or other, the United States as well as Asian nations relies on planning techniques. That the United States is more "Socialist" and Asia more "Capitalist" than stereotypes suggest. That both believe in "mixed" economies. That the degree of planning practiced is their main distinguishing feature. That economies of abundance require less planning and direction than economies based on scarcity. And that nationalism, growing out of independence, tends toward closely integrated state economies.

When, finally, a moderator asked, "May it be said that all of the Asians around this table are actively and philosophically opposed to irresponsible autocracy or oligarchy?" all present concurred.

VII. *The Sovereignty of the People*

With equal emphasis, both Asians and Americans referred to people, to the popular will, to the role of the masses in determining their destinies. But who were the masses? What influence did they actually have—in Asia and in America? Were their demands regulated, were their lives manipulated, were they dominated by an economic, intellectual, or political elite? Or did power, actually and ultimately, reside with the masses? What competence do the masses have to exercise citizenship in an increasingly complex technological society? How, in Asia and in the United States, do education and information media equip them to make decisions affecting not only themselves but all of mankind? Upon what spiritual premises are this competence and these decisions based?

Point was given these questions by an observer who rose to quote a passage by Louis B. Schwartz, Professor of Law at the University of Pennsylvania:

"Political liberty is jeopardized if economic power drifts into relatively few hands. The centers of great growth will own and influence newspapers, magazines and broadcasters; direct the development of universities; retain the ablest

G. P. Malalasekera of Ceylon and U Lu Pe Win of Burma inspect the cabin in which Lincoln was born.

lawyers, economists and public relations specialists; finance political parties; infiltrate or wear down the executive agencies by which they are supposed to be regulated; and operate powerful lobbies so that the popular will itself is shaped by their needs."

Dr. Mandelbaum earlier had raised the matter to the level of an issue by asserting that the American tendency is to broaden the elite, to spread power, or to act as if this is so, whereas in Asia this has not everywhere occurred. "All of us at this table," he had added, "are removed from the world of the villages. Therefore it is not always easy for us to understand the villager and to take his views into consideration. Anthropologists who go into Asian villages hear from officials that the people resist progress—irrigation, for instance. A pump is installed. The pump needs a mechanic. The mechanic in charge of that pump controls the water supply and has life and death power over the villagers. The people object to this, and the official interprets their resistance as resistance to irrigation and to progress; but it is actually resistance to placing their fate in the hands of an outsider. Examples like this, multiplied many times, reflect the true feelings and viewpoint of the masses."

To this charge, the Asians expanded their earlier denials. Speaking of India, Dr. Rao conceded that "the rural masses were outside the ken of the elite prior to the 20th century. But with the struggle for political freedom and its organization on a mass basis by Gandhi in 1919, the impetus of our nationalist movement came from the village. Gandhi identified himself with the poor, the masses. For the last 40 years the village has grown increasingly conspicuous

in the Indian picture. In recent years Vinoba Bhave has picked up Gandhi's torch. Asked to comment on the five-year plan, Bhave said, 'I judge it by what it will do for India's villages.' Today, with political power in his hands, the ordinary man has regained his self-respect. The progress of our national struggle broke down barriers between the upper and lower classes. The Constitution banished discrimination. We know there is neither unreadiness nor backwardness among our people. There is suspicion however—the farmer doesn't want to be the object of experimentation. We are aware too of the political sagacity of the masses. In our last elections everyone expected a great Communist vote in the rural areas. Instead, the villagers voted overwhelmingly for the Congress Party."

THE GROWTH OF POPULAR LEADERSHIP

Said Dr. Tan, "Our leadership lies with the masses, not any elite. Our President, Magsaysay, was a mechanic. His attention and devotion go to the welfare of the masses. This is his strength."

Mr. Sam Sary described Cambodia's return to "pure, ancient democracy." "Our provincial assemblies wield power. By majority vote they can dismiss or transfer any civil servant, and any man, however lowly, can serve on these assemblies or appeal directly to them. We deny special privileges to our elite. Bicycles are encouraged for the transportation of officials as being more democratic than automobiles. Everyone from banker to schoolchild is invited to share farm work with the peasants. Each individual maintains his own values without reference to social groups or associations. Our people prefer free individual effort to collective effort. All these tendencies bring our masses and ruling classes together."

Dr. Malalasekera added, "Ceylon has been democratic for generations. The King was always elected by the people. Buddhism recognizes the importance of the individual. Buddha said, 'No man shall believe anything that he cannot verify from himself.'" Dr. Djohan, too, asserted that in Indonesia "the *Desa,* the village, is the seat of power."

Mr. Tay, admitting that the masses in Laos are amorphous and accustomed to being led by an elite, nevertheless pointed out that the elite springs from the masses and is attentive to their needs and desires. Dr. Trinh pressed this same theme.

"Viet-Nam's educated, privileged classes are not static, hereditary groups of well-to-do but a constantly changing, emerging group produced by education. Sons of fishermen and farmers, and drawn from the villages where their families still live, they remain in close contact with the people. Our elite youth has

played a key role in the political and economic revolutions of the past 50 years. It never forgot its duty toward the masses. Foreigners who notice differences in the living conditions of the masses and the elite should realize the material difficulties to be overcome in achieving more equality."

Dr. Trinh noted, finally, that in the past Vietnamese culture was connected with a minority of scholars and learned philosophers who handed over from generation to generation a legacy of values, mellowed by time and free from most material and technical considerations. "Under the influence of Western culture this elite has striven at a better understanding and a closer contact with the masses. It now possesses political power. It is through its medium that outside influences reach the social layers of the country. Complete democracy is a goal we all aspire to, but it can only be reached through a gradual evolution from authoritarian democracy."

THE POWER OF PUBLIC OPINION

Of the United States, Dr. Odegaard said, "We have here Jacksonian egalitarianism plus Jeffersonian belief in education of the people. There is just enough reading in the United States to inform people, through various expressions of viewpoints, to provide for independence. The edges of class lines are frayed. The interaction of a variety of people leads to independent attitudes which add up to public opinion. Public opinion acts through direct suffrage and through voluntary groups. Sometimes these are pressure groups, so-called because they come together from a sense of common experience or interest to press their view on Congress, the press or other levers of action. Merely because a point of view is so expressed does not mean it will prevail. A group simply advocates its partial viewpoint, which in context with other partial viewpoints leads to total consideration of a problem from the viewpoint of all. Public opinion in the United States," Dr. Odegaard concluded, "is not a monolithic bloc. Viewpoints are varied and often in conflict. Associations do not stack up one atop the other. A flexibility and movement occur that provide an antidote to power."

Though impressed with the power of public opinion in the United States, the Asians expressed doubts about the moulders of such opinion. References to "newspaper barons" were frequent. The degree to which advertisers control newspaper editorial policy, the growth of a "monopoly press," the prevalence of inferior or "bad" newspapers as contrasted with the scantiness of "good" newspapers, the tendency of people to accept whatever is offered them locally, the reliance on columnists and pundits who prefabricate public opinion, the glibness

with which propagandists and public relations experts exploit editorial columns and infiltrate news, the sensationalism of American newspapers generally, the paucity of Asian news, the power of concentrated wealth lurking behind America's channels of information—all these either occasioned criticism or, more mildly put, mirrored Asian doubts, not only about the purity of the American press, but about the quality of public opinion in the United States.

THE POLITICAL ROLE OF MASS MEDIA

A minority of Americans concurred with the Asians' fears. The majority tried to assuage Asian misgivings or to balance them with a more positive array of facts and opinions. Mr. Low pointed out that there is no "American newspaper," that no political party had ever successfully run a newspaper in the United States, that only 6 percent of American newspapers are chain owned. "I feel," he said, "that there is more freedom, dispersal, and independence of control in American journalism than anywhere in the world."

Mr. Kestnbaum, commenting on the quality of America's mass media, including television, said, "Mass media result from large, literate populations. Everything in the United States must be available to everybody. Select museums atop ivory towers are not wanted. We may be wistful about small elite groups but, to succeed, our media must satisfy mass and often vulgar tastes. The media themselves are neutral. The problem is to improve the taste of the people. By and large, this taste is improving. When King Lear was shown on TV, more people heard and saw it than in the entire previous history of the English stage. As to the Asians' other fears, they exceed reality. Even where potential power exists here, those who exercise it realize that abuse will lead to regulation. The chain-newspaper owner may use his paper to express a personal viewpoint, but whom does he influence? We had one such man in Chicago. In political affairs his paper had a consistent record of failure. It is wrong to underestimate the intelligence of people. People generally detect a slant in news and react against it."

Referring to the same Chicago newspaper, Mr. Keele asserted "its character was due not so much to its owner as to the fact that it satisfied and was responsive to the desires and needs of the local people. A newspaper is not a charitable enterprise. It exists to make money. If people won't buy it, it will fail. When you indict the paper, you are actually indicting the community that accepts and buys it. If you say the newspaper is savage, it is a reflection of the savagery of its audience. Were this not so, the newspaper would have to change."

Mr. Baird pointed out that "although newspapers in the Twin Cities are monopolies, they are primarily businesses and must, to survive, sell papers. To do this they go out of their way to present both sides of any question. Editorial page influence is waning. News columns command more attention. Working pressmen are members of labor unions and guilds. This increases the difficulty of slanting news in management's favor." Mr. Leslie called attention to the broad variety of media available to the American public—television, radio, national magazines. And free open-forum discussions, luncheon club platforms where all the colorations of opinion are expressed, thousands of country weeklies with as much influence as the urban press—these offer safeguards against monopolistic evils."

To Dr. Malalasekera's comment that some of his editor friends in Ceylon had complained that the only news they could get from American news services was of a sensational, flamboyant, conflictive type, and that the American press must be held accountable for the slanted, unfavorable impression of the United States abroad. Mr. Isaacs replied: "In the measure that this news is contracted for, the purchaser has the right to protest about the quality and character of news he receives. In the measure that he does protest, he can change the type of material he receives. The burden, therefore, lies as much with the Asian press as with the American."

The real difficulties in effecting better news services between the United States and Asia, according to Mr. Low, were excessive and arbitrary cable rates. "All international services lose money linking Asia and America. Cable rates are high and are not related to distance. Needless expense, absurdities, delays in channeling news result. Not until cable charges are realistically revised, not until more editors use their Asian file, not until the demand for Asian news by the public forces such usage, can we expect improvement in the situation. The same applies to the newspapers of Asia." Proposals that UNESCO enter the news-service field or that official information services be broadened were greeted without enthusiasm by both Asians and Americans.

The Asians, generally, had as little good to say about their own newspapers as they did about the American. Dr. Rao regretted that "on the whole, India's press is controlled by chains. One proprietor runs four English papers and others in various dialects. Much of the control of Indian journalism is linked with big business interests. We are developing, as a result, some immunity towards our newspapers. We don't believe all we read." Professor Sharif

reported a similar situation in Pakistan where "demagoguery and political control or influence in journalism are rife."

The Asians, granting that the influence of newspapers in their countries was limited by illiteracy, were one in deploring the character of news emanating from the United States. Filtering down to the masses, they claimed, it corroborated the picture of American debauchery and crime accented by Hollywood films. Dr. Rao suggested that the evil was two-edged. "Even in your best paper which I read while in America, I find more nonsense about the coronation of the King of Nepal than on serious developments in Asia. A true picture of my country is utterly absent. I find nothing but stress on military matters, violence, and abberations from the norm."

Many of the Americans, admitting that most American newspapers are deficient in foreign news, voiced regret. "But the failure," Mr. Kestnbaum emphasized, "is due not to economic control but to inexperience and general inadequacy."

Concluding, the need was stressed for Asians and Americans to sift the headlines for the truth about each other. And the role of education in stimulating interest in Asia and the United States and in raising tastes was declared of paramount importance.

VIII. *The Importance of Education*

Throughout the sessions, and in the context of almost every subject discussed, the preeminence of education's role was admitted. Asian interest in American education focused on its apparent emphasis on the sciences as opposed to the humanities. The demands of industry, of the cold war, of defense, it seemed to them, brought about an imbalance in American education. Yet paradoxically, America seemed short of trained technologists.

Americans, denying that science dominated education in the United States, offered a broader explanation than the cold war for such technological emphasis and manpower shortages in the sciences as existed, and sought generally to bring American education into another perspective.

According to Dr. Tuve, "The last I heard, fewer than 18 percent of college students specialize in physical sciences. One reason is that secondary schools have diminishing numbers of teachers able to arouse interest in the sciences." Dr. Birdwhistell accented this point. "Our American cultural impediment is

mathematics. Many of our teachers continue to instill a distaste for mathematics. It is a punishment, not a reward. Qualified teachers able to whet students' appetites for science are often seduced by the higher salaries offered by business."

Mr. Franklin commented that to the degree that science teaching has grown in our schools, the reasons lie less in the cold war than in the past 50 years of American history. "Long before the First World War, industrialization attracted people toward science. After World War II the swing has been in the other direction. Scientists and administrators sensed overspecialization and went in for broader, humanistic training. The new trend is toward supplementing scientific with humanistic and social science training."

Mr. Keele noted, additionally, that liberal arts graduates are increasingly employed by corporations. "In 1933," he said, "General Electric combed the colleges for engineers and accountants. Today 45 percent of its college-trained recruits are liberal arts men. The tendency is to hire the generalists rather than the specialists. A well-rounded man can pick up his specialty on the job."

TECHNICAL TRAINING AND THE HUMANITIES

Dr. Graves underscored the fact that "we don't, in America, have royal, imperial, or national structures to organize education and to pressure students into any special field. Americans set up an infinite number of societies, all

Pakistani students at the University of California greet Dr. M. M. Sharif, Professor of Philosophy at Islamia College in Pakistan.

private, nongovernmental, and self-financed, many of which belong to certain larger councils, such as the Social Science Research Council or the American Council of Learned Societies. One of its functions is to encourage the flow of students in proper quantity into its field. But rigid planning doesn't exist at the national level, and students remain free to choose their own careers."

Dr. Rao expressed his pleasure that America suffered a shortage of technicians. "It convinces me that you are free and not totalitarian. In the U. S. S. R., where preplanning takes place toward specific goals, it is easy to direct students into areas of national need. The fact that you are diluting your science with humanistic study, that you realize technical proficiency is not the ultimate goal, augurs well for America's freedom."

Dr. Trinh questioned the lengths to which democratic limits went in America, especially in the matter of educational standards. "I get the impression," he said, "that there are no minimum standards in the United States on the high school level. Now a limitation of choice, the enforcement of a number of basic subjects does not clash with democracy. Indeed, a preliminary sampling is necessary. The students or pupils may not be aware of their real gifts. By imposing a systematic pattern, one gives them a better opportunity of testing their aptitudes in several fields before specializing in one."

EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS

Dr. Birdwhistell observed that many Americans shared Dr. Trinh's regret about the lack of standards. "Children are not only unprepared for college," he said, "but even to read newspapers." And Mr. Fernbach added, "How to educate all children to meet a minimum standard and not lose out on excellence—that is a problem we all face." Dr. Givens replied with a sweeping summary of America's educational philosophy. "Between 1830 and 1850," he said, "we established our elementary schools in the United States. They were made free, tax-supported, compulsory, and based on the development of all our people, without exception. We don't therefore set up standards. Instead, we say to parents, 'Send your children to school and we will do the best we can for them.' Whatever the child brings to school, we try to develop.

"We even pass laws," Dr. Givens continued, "to tax people to pay for education at the secondary level. The level of education accepted in the United States is 14 years, and we are now entering the junior college level. We try to move everyone up to this level. We don't, in short, believe in class stratification. Many Asian countries were long under the yoke of others who were interested in the few, not the masses. Their aim was to perpetuate themselves.

We don't want to perpetuate anything but freedom. We don't want to kill off any one with high standards. We seek to educate all."

Mr. Sam Sary nevertheless held out for the necessity of maintaining some minimum standards that every student must meet, and also for some apportionment of students to various fields corresponding to national needs. "I draw attention," he said, "to your lack of doctors. I noticed great efficiency in the Ford assembly line, but at Johns Hopkins I did not see such efficiency. I saw patients waiting a long time without doctors to attend them. I myself went for observation at 8 a. m. and stayed until 5 p. m. without seeing anyone but a general practitioner. In my country, a private committee would refer such inefficiency to the government and action would be taken."

As a trustee of Johns Hopkins, Dr. Tuve expressed his regret for the incident, and explained that "We have 81 class-A medical schools in America. They graduate over 5,000 physicians annually. We are trying to increase them but face shortages of funds. All medical schools operate with deficits. As for the graduates, we cannot exploit or control them. Their activity is voluntary. One doctor for 2,500 people is a common condition. These matters are not regulated by government."

THE PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

Mr. McGloughlin explained the antipathy of American education to government assistance, interference, or control. "Our universities," he said, "are keepers of the conscience. Their function is to stand aside and point to the best way of doing things—to transmit the best of the culture to all students, irrespective of career, to act as a unifying force—the cement in society. It is a role to be maintained at all costs and the reason why we want to see most of them privately or, in some measure, locally maintained."

Dr. Trinh noted that "despite the fact that Viet-Nam's university is national, full liberty is left to the faculty in matters of curricula, appointments, and examinations. Professors play an active role in national commissions, and new industries in Viet-Nam are not started without consultation with qualified faculty members."

Dr. Sukich described Thailand's universities as state-controlled institutions. "Professors are civil servants," he said, "and must observe the rules in regard to criticism. They are in a position to be neither gadflies nor keepers of the conscience." Dr. Malalasekera said that "despite government financing, Ceylon's university has a free and critical faculty."

To an Asian's suggestion that the duty of a university should include that of building counterpropaganda to oppose evils glorified in comics and films, the American position was that the university should educate to positive values and not indulge in propaganda. Mr. McGloughlin qualified this, reminding the group that "at times, Americans have not enough confidence in the victory of ideas. We want to transmit our culture as such and not give other cultures the same emphasis. The expulsion of Communists from schools because people are afraid their ideas, if taught, might prevail is unfaithful to our tradition of freedom and confidence in truth. Being free to a certain point is not to be free at all, and in such instances the university negates itself. Lack of faith in the ultimate triumph of the freedom of ideas and in the good sense which students exercise when they are adequately informed leads to the business of who is going to teach and what is going to be taught, and this kills the university."

The dimension of Asia's problem, generally, was described by Dr. Djohan. "Imagine that you have a country, newly free and eager to become a modern, self-sustaining state, in which all government and private agencies must be staffed, where letters must be delivered, where accounts must be kept, where progress must be planned and accomplished—all by a people 90 percent of whom were illiterate at the time of our independence. This is the situation we faced in Indonesia. Education, therefore, has our highest priority. In 1960 we plan to introduce compulsory education."

OUR SPIRITUAL HERITAGE

Education was scored by both Asians and Americans who felt that it had failed to maintain contact between man and God. Dr. Tan phrased his discontent in two questions. "How can we design our educational system so that it will teach resistance to evil? How can we make it not man-centered, but God-centered?" And Dr. McLean assailed American education in these terms: "Many writers—Buber, Maritain, Toynbee, Niebuhr, Mannheim—seek to affirm our faith and way of life in a religious context that deals with life's primary facts. Our universities do not deal with this realm of thought. The Bible is not studied in terms of our human heritage. Materialistic studies are backed by grants, spiritual studies aren't. We teach our American heritage but we have lost contact with our Judeo-Christian heritage. As a result there is a tremendous protest against the curricula and teaching methods in our schools. We need to mature to the point where we can understand our spiritual heritage so that we can communicate with other faiths, so that from the interchange can

come not a synthetic religion but an interchange in a community of faith. We have the form of faith," Dr. McLean concluded, "but not the substance. Dr. Toynbee warns us that all the gadgeteering of our current civilization is meaningless unless we know the nature of man as a political animal and in relation to God."

Dr. Odegaard agreed that "Americans have a curious lack of visibility of the religious aspect of their society. If we seem materialists to others overseas, it is because we are such failures at understanding our own motivation. We have been so busy changing the wilderness into the pattern we brought from Western Europe that we keep thinking and talking in material terms. However, though the liberal arts college fears sectarian discussion, it does consider the nature of man."

Dr. McLean, disagreeing, quoted from Jacques Maritain: " 'In educational systems grounded to a degree . . . on privately endowed schools, colleges and universities, pluralistic teaching of the democratic charter would still more easily come into force if the denominational institutions were more aware of the impact of religious inspiration on the whole realm of intelligence, and if the secular institutions freed themselves of the secularist prejudices they have developed despite their not infrequent religious origins.' This position," Dr. McLean suggested, "opens the way for a new pattern of education in both the West and the East. Acceptance of religious and cultural pluralism as one of the facts of life creates an atmosphere favorable to experimentation. The West can learn from educational experiments in India, Indonesia, and the Philippines, and our Asian friends can learn from experiments in the United States."

IX. *Religion in a Changing World*

Although, in their approach to industrialization, the Asians had frequently referred to religious factors, the role of religion in their national life was now more extensively revealed. Dr. Malalasekera reemphasized Buddhism's importance in Ceylon's national affairs. "For centuries Buddhism, the religion of 70 percent of our people, was neglected or persecuted. The Hindu 20 percent was in the same plight. With independence the people expected a renaissance in religion, assistance to religious orders, and reversion of land from private to religious hands. Proud of our religious influence throughout Asia, we wanted to regain our lost prestige and rehabilitate religious education. Our former

government neglected this popular aspiration, and so a new government was elected on a platform promise to restore Buddhism to the place it once enjoyed."

Speaking of Cambodians, Mr. Sam Sary reemphasized their Buddhist belief in the reduction of needs rather than in the occidental value of satisfaction of needs. "In your society," he said, "you accent labor-saving devices, speed, activity. In mine the accent is on contemplation of present reality and also long term ultimate reality—the future of the world."

"Buddha," said Dr. Sukich, "doesn't sit down in Thailand. He walks. He is the best promise our country has for democracy and prosperity and our best defense against communism."

In India, according to Dr. Rao, a rather different religious outlook prevailed. "Our attitude toward religion is in a ferment of political, social, and economic factors. In 30 years, perhaps, India may find its true religion based on the Vedas and Upanishads and not in rites and rituals—a universal religion embracing the values taught by all religions, kindness, brotherhood, love. At the moment, some of us think overemphasis on Hindu orthodoxy has retarded our economic progress. We still have God-intoxication—people who want to give up ties with the world, by whom asceticism is stressed, and to whom self-conquest is the ideal.

"But in the last few years a new theory has emerged—that renunciation, sacrifice, individual salvation, are not sufficient. A spiritual life, we feel, cannot be built on poverty. God is in man; and through worship of man, one worships God. Ascetics, we feel, should work, educate, heal, and not hide from life. And so in India there is an abandonment of ancient Hindu ritual and customs.

"We have no religious revivalism. But at the same time there is a great reexamination of Hindu faith in modern terms, based on the idea that since God resides in man, man's condition on earth is important. This idea is expressed perhaps by the motto of my school of economics in Delhi. 'God is one. Wise men call him by different names. May I be born again and again in order to serve the poor, the downtrodden, the miserable and the suffering. My God, the poor; my God, the wicked; my God, the miserable—the poor of all races and of all species is the only God whom I worship.'"

Dr. Tan spoke of his country's reliance on religion "to cushion the shock of industralization. But our moral fiber has been weakened by erosion caused by our exposure to the West. Our children used to stop their play when they heard the Angelus. Now fewer do and the parents give less time to God and more to gambling and drink."

Dr. Djohan, observing that 90 percent of Indonesia's people are Islamic, pronounced this his country's greatest single strength. And Professor Sharif declared that in Pakistan "religion is the people's bulwark against totalitarianism. We interpret our religion as thoroughly democratic, as it was in the first 40 years of its existence. The concern with the individual that was expressed in those days is now being underlined. But we are not yet democratic in that we refuse to accept atheism. Belief in God is the strongest fundamental in Islam."

According to Dr. Trinh, religion in Viet-Nam has not permeated every aspect of social and private behavior. "Besides a minority of over 2 million Christians, the main religion is Buddhism. The mass of the population, however, ignore the subtleties of Buddhistic metaphysics. What they have retained is the notion that pain is cosubstantial with human existence and selfishness, whence the necessity of rising above contingencies of being 'detached' to a certain extent. There is also an element of pity for human nature in that attitude. Confucianism, on the other hand, has not influenced mystical thought. It coexists with Buddhism on a lower level. It deals with the natural rather than the supernatural. It appeals to the reasonable faculties, provides a logical system of ethics, a form of religious positivism based on harmony and broadmindedness. The widespread spirit of tolerance, derived from Confucius, explains why Viet-Nam is so open to all cultural and philosophical contributions from the outside."

THE SPIRIT MUST PREVAIL

Of religion in America, Dr. Odegaard remarked: "Americans, believing that man is the son of God, recognize his dignity. But in our tradition also lies awareness of the depravity of man. Both his dignity and depravity are reflected in our institutions. Charity and philanthropy exist alongside selfish behavior. Tangibly, the good is given expression by that peculiarly American institution, the foundation, to which rich men give their wealth to benefit man."

Mr. Keele also described the foundation as an example of America's belief in the positive, pragmatic expression of religious ideals. "To strike at the causes of evil, to eradicate hookworm and other diseases, to gamble on research that will improve man's lot on earth, not to worship money but to show what money can do for man's betterment—these are expressions of the best in our spiritual heritage."

Dr. Gittelsohn was less optimistic about religion in America. "We religionists," he said, "are not corrective elements in American life. Big business

corrects us more than we correct big business. I think our American system has done a great job in the situation and limits of its historic setting. But the setting is changing and so must the solution. We suffer from religious schizophrenia—we separate our religious from our economic life. And so I say, if we Americans listen with all our hearts, ears, and brains, we can learn from Asians more than they can learn from us."

Dr. Gardner, pleading for an open mind and open communications, warned that modern developments will shake all religions, including Asia's, just as it is shaking Christianity in the United States. "We are all at a point in the story of nature," he concluded, "where either the spirit prevails or civilization ends."

All participants, both Asian and American, heartily assented.

X. *A Question of Status—Women, Minorities, Labor*

Before abandoning the subject of the composition and nature of societies, Asian and American, the discussants probed such matters as the status of women, of minorities, of labor. Pressing the first of these Mrs. Kennedy remarked that she felt certain human values were involved in the restricted freedom of women in India where she had spent some time. "In India a wife thinks of her husband as teacher and guide, while, in America, we think a woman can teach her husband also. In Indian villages I visited, women hid behind silkworm trays when their husbands came into the room where I was visiting, and in towns I rarely heard them argue with their husbands. Here women are more aggressive and seem to have greater scope for expressing their personalities."

Dr. Rao ruefully wished Mrs. Kennedy's observations were true, but confessed that Indian wives *do* argue with their husbands. As for village women coming forward to shake hands, he remarked that this was not custom. "A study like Mrs. Kennedy's in an American village 60 years ago, I dare say, might have revealed the same tendency. What has happened to women here in the United States is the result of education and economic change. It is becoming true among our own upper strata where you find some of the same relaxed attitudes as in the West. In cities we now have ballroom dancing. Smart Indian ladies

dance with other women's husbands. Indian women consort with men of other races. But we do not have equality in the Western sense in the villages. Women don't travel or spend nights alone.

"Actually, women's status in India is in a process of transition. Ideally, we venerate women—she is symbolized by our Goddess. And the Gandhian movement, the framework of our laws, moving pictures, and other factors are improving her status. In education the proportionate increase of women in schools is greater than men. Twenty-five percent of our college population is female. Educated women occupy positions in public affairs in greater proportion than in the United States. More Indian women have played a national role in our affairs than have American women in American affairs. Women went to prison, picketed liquor shops, played a major role in our independence movement. The proportion of women in our Parliament is greater than in any democracy in the world. When a man in Parliament dies, his wife is elected to take his place.

"Legally, bigamy is now unlawful among Hindus. Divorce is legalized. Inheritance laws no longer discriminate in favor of the male. The age of marriage is going up fantastically. In 1925 girls married at 13 or 15; today 19 or 21 are average. Women compete for jobs on equal terms with men. In certain fields, such as our rationing department, they outnumber male employees, and in medicine women are notably numerous. Above all," said Dr. Rao, "women have more security in marriage in India than in America. There is something to be said for our approach to love, as contrasted with your romantic notions."

HOME AND THE PURSE STRINGS

Of Pakistan, Professor Sharif observed that "in the home, the woman rules. In public life, this is not so. In villages men and women have the same status. In West Pakistan there is no purdah or seclusion. In East Pakistan women confine themselves generally to the home, although not in strict purdah. In urban areas women are emerging more and more into public life. They work in banks, railways, the postal service, on a competitive basis with men, although the state denies them access to the highest administrative posts. Women are members of Parliament, however, both central and provincial. They are teachers and doctors. They can earn and keep the fruits of their labor. They pay income taxes and own property in their own name, beyond their husband's interference.

"However," Professor Sharif cautioned, "Pakistan would not want to emulate America in regard to women's rights. We regard marriage and homemaking as

women's best profession. We have more men than women in our population and few women remain unmarried. To the majority of our women, home will remain their first attraction."

Developing the status of women in an Islamic state, Dr. Djohan deplored the widespread misunderstanding of polygamy. "After the religious wars of early days," he said, "which decimated the male population, the Prophet permitted one man to have four wives. The Koran explicitly says 'if you can divide your love and if you are not afraid of error you may marry four widows with children.' This is understood neither in the West nor at home. We hope to correct our own perspective on polygamy. Women's organizations are pushing for legislation that controls it, and we expect such laws this year."

Of Thailand, Dr. Sukich said, "Women are in charge of our purse strings. The law however prevents her taking any judicial action without her husband's consent." Dr. Tan added, "In the Philippines women are the boss both outside and inside the home. She takes the man's money and spends it. Generally, in my country, women occupy perhaps higher positions than American women in this society. She does not join organizations however. Her method is to wait until her husband comes home, then to go to work on him and win him over to her viewpoint."

And of Burma, Daw Mya Sein said, "Without the need for asserting their rights, our women assume their equality. We don't need a feminist movement in Burma. To have equality, woman would have to give up more than she would get."

SECOND CLASS CITIZENS

On the defensive generally, in the matter of women's equality, the Asians took a more challenging line in connection with the status of Negroes in the United States. "How can America call itself a democracy," they asked, "in view of the troubles and tensions that characterize Negro-white relationships in this country?" In answer Dr. Clement reviewed the history of the Negro in America from slavery to the present, emphasizing that "after the withdrawal of Federal troops in 1878, the end of the Reconstruction period, Negroes in the South were generally reduced to second-class citizens—a legacy that haunts America to this day. Against this situation has been launched a whole series of Supreme Court decisions, going back to 1917, which have consistently improved the Negro's status. The period of the '30's was especially important in terms of education, transportation, and suffrage; and the '40's saw further im-

provement in the outlawing of restrictive covenants limiting segregation on trains and broadening educational facilities. Negroes, in short, have found the law on their side. They are progressively on their way into positions of civic responsibility, into a broader range of occupational activities. Negroes have been elected to public office even in areas where they were a minority." (Dr. Clement, a Negro, had been elected to the Atlanta School Board with twice as many white as Negro votes.) Dr. Clement concluded: "The outstanding single impression that the student of American race relations must come to is that, in spite of over a century's turmoil, the American Negro's experience has given him a great trust in the Constitution and in the legal procedures for its enforcement. Special interest parties advocating nonlegal methods have found but a small audience among the Negro people. They are convinced that if illegal steps are taken, such steps will not be taken by the Negro citizen. This belief in legal process has been justified by decision after decision in the Federal courts."

Additionally, Mr. Warner touched on the fact that American democracy is more local than is generally recognized. "Power has a tendency to be locally based," he said. "It takes time for Federal decisions to be passed down and to change social and political custom." And Mr. Isaacs recalled that "good things in race relations are rarely reported, while tremendous coverage is given to bad developments such as the Cicero riots."

TECHNICAL ADVANCES AND DISCRIMINATION

Asians readily appreciated that in the area of race relations, the situation in the United States was more complicated than in Asia in the sense that American Negroes were not a colonial people. Reflecting on comparable problems in his own country, Dr. Rao stressed the connection between industrialization and lessened discrimination toward minorities. "The moment you have transportation you can't have untouchability. A caste Hindu must travel with anyone who enters the train. The village practice of segregating untouchables breaks down once people live near factories and towns. Untouchability is proscribed by our Constitution. We have untouchables in our Cabinet. One fifth of our legislators are untouchables. Political, economic, and ethical forces all mitigate against the evil. The millenium has not been reached by any means. Rural areas lag. Another 10 to 20 years will pass before full equality is achieved.

"Our own experience," Dr. Rao concluded, "makes us sympathetic toward yours. We are impressed by your advance in race relations. We know the

crisis into which the recent Supreme Court decision has plunged you. We realize that conflict is inevitable. Race prejudice is primitive and not unique. It is found everywhere and nowhere can judicial action resolve it."

Dr. Trinh agreed that the problem is hard to solve. "Foreigners are often blind to the importance of the Negro minority and the psychological side issues connected with its growth. It must be acknowledged, however, that many steps have now been taken towards the solution of the Negro problem. Yet good will and efficiency may sometimes be inadequate. It is not enough to improve the material condition of the Negro; his moral status must also be taken into account. One must endeavor to identify oneself with the Negro, share his views, partake in his very sensitiveness. It is a matter of heart and tact. The essential dignity of the Negro must be felt and stressed as a matter of course. Relations must tend towards naturalness and spontaneity."

Professor Sharif concluded this phase of the discussion with a summary statement to which all the panelists present agreed: "There has been general progress in relieving the disabilities of the Negro people of the United States. Some disabilities in social interrelationships, the equality of living together, traveling and the like, exist, owing to the nature of local discrimination patterns, selfish local interests, political ambitions, and other irrational causes. Social patterns and emotional motivations are difficult and slow to change; but owing to the processes of law, industrialization, trade unionism, and the nature of the American Constitution, these are sure to disappear."

Asian visitors confer with Walter Reuther, Vice President of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, during Asian-American discussions in Ann Arbor and Detroit, Mich.

LABOR UNIONS ON THE AMERICAN SCENE

Mr. Cushman led the discussants into the area of labor management relationships with a description of the nature and role of labor unions in the American economy. "Through collective bargaining with private employers, the unions influence social change. Their technique is based on the right of individuals to withhold their labor, individually or as a group, whenever conditions of labor are unsatisfactory to them. The Automobile Workers Union, apparently more than other unions, consciously plans its objectives in social change over the long run. An example is the guaranteed annual wage. Almost 5 years before actual collective bargaining began on the subject, the union discussed its probable impact on the economy with outside economists. Public reaction was tested and influenced through mass media. Management was alerted that the guaranteed annual wage was to be the union's prime objective long before negotiations began. Management, in turn, was ready for the proposal when it was made. Management's attitude is not, as some think, 'come weal come woe, our status is quo.' Management believes in social change. Its expectation is that decisions about social change will be made in many instances through bargaining. It expects that more will be given at each round of negotiations. It expects initiative to come from the union, as well as from management itself.

"Unions also influence legislation and social welfare," Mr. Cushman continued. "They are interested, therefore, in political action. But American unionism is not ideological in nature. Unions do not aspire to change the basic political structure of the country, but concern themselves deeply with issues and candidates. Some unions dealing with small employers, notably the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, maintain banks, help finance employers, assist them in management engineering and provide rental housing. The role of other unions in the social and economic life of their members has increased greatly over the past 20 years.

"The precious attribute of our system," Mr. Cushman stressed, "remains the right to strike. Private arbitration is widely used but confined largely to decisions on how contracts already negotiated should be interpreted. Government conciliators, on a voluntary basis and without authority, assist in composing differences."

LABOR RELATIONS IN THE EAST

In most of the Asian countries represented, experience with labor-management relations was limited. Dr. Tan remarked that the infant labor movement in the

Philippines "has inherited all the vices of the American movement without assuming the corresponding responsibilities. We are trying to educate labor by importing American labor experts, but trouble still haunts us. New projects are undertaken, and their life is imperiled by strikes before they are fairly launched." Unionism in India, on the other hand according to Dr. Rao, is far advanced, powerful, and playing a constructive role in the nation's development. Recalling the year 1916, when Communists seized control of the labor movement while others were focusing on independence, strikes broke out and Communists were arrested, he noted that public opinion was divided. The Reds were not popular but neither were their judges, the British. Since independence things have changed. The old Trade Union Congress is still Red-dominated, but the National Trade Union Congress is an affiliate of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. It works closely with the Congress Party and is dominant today. The Indian Workers Association is led by the Socialist Party. The Communists are strong in Calcutta where refugee and unemployment problems give them something to exploit. Even more than in the United States, our unions influence legislation. Their power is organized, urban, and disproportionate to their numbers. All states have conciliation offices to deal with unions. As a result of agreements reached by government, private industry, and unions, India has not had a major strike in 8 years. One Indian union has made history. The Ahmadabad Textile Labor Association, set up by Gandhi, has not had a strike in 30 years. Wages are higher there, industry is more prosperous, and there are more housing, clinics, schools than anywhere. It is an outstanding example of what arbitration can achieve."

Dr. Djohan believed the Communist union in Indonesia, SOBSI, was strong because of the excellence of its organization rather than of its principles. "The Communists have built a fine building in Djakarta, but no one knows where the money came from. External sources are suspected. Yet we are absolutely unafraid of communism in Indonesia."

Mr. Reuther warned that "Communists have never been able to seize power without a working class base. They try endlessly to dominate trade unions. To combat Communist exploitation of poverty and injustice, we are building a free labor movement throughout the world. The problem of Communist labor domination does not occur when people are poor, ignorant, or oppressed. It arises when people are a little better off and start to have hope. That's when the Reds step in, claiming credit and promising to do it faster and better. Remember," Mr. Reuther concluded, "you can drive back the Communists, but they will always return. To beat them, you can't depend on pious slogans. You must get there earlier, work harder, think faster, and stay later."

XI. *Cultural Patterns*

Human values, economics, the social and spiritual fabric of Asian-American society, having claimed so large a part of the discussants' attention, required that the participants consider how these factors intermeshed. Culturally, impetus was given this aspect of Asian-American relationships by Dr. Flanagan. "Literature, art, music," he said, "are more importable and exportable than steel mills and tractors. All of us are curious about the mental life. Early in the 19th century, sailing ships brought to Salem not only Eastern goods but art and ideas. Novels like Hergesheimer's *Java Head* and Maxwell Anderson's *Wingless Victory* dealt with the juxtaposition of Eastern and Western cultures. Earlier, Alcott, Thoreau, Emerson reflected Eastern thought as it was expressed in the Gita, India's great ethical poem. Whitman incorporated Oriental philosophy in writings like *Passage to India.* America's imagistic period, the writings of Amy Lowell, John Gould Fletcher, and others, reflects Chinese influences. Tagore was very popular here, and today Aubrey Mennen and John Masters maintain our interest in the East. Our literature, in short, owes much to the epics of the East. The reverse is that in the 20th century our American writers are influencing Asia. Jack London, Upton Sinclair, Sinclair Lewis, Dreiser, Sandburg are well known, from the Soviet Union to China. Europeans are impressed by Faulkner, Hemingway, Steinbeck, O'Neil, and O'Hara. Many of these men are dissenters and critics of America. Since World War I, generally, the tone of our literature has been cynical. We freely allow such self-criticism to be exported with faith that matters will iron out in time. It is significant that there is a new vogue, the revival of the importance of the individual man. Faulkner recently expressed the humanitarian values in American society in these words: 'Man will not only endure, but the spirit of man will also prevail.' We need this cultural exchange," Dr. Flanagan concluded, "to introduce our values and experiences to each other."

THE EFFECT OF AMERICAN CULTURAL EXPORTS

Many of the Asians described the postwar literatures of their countries as also being one of protest and dissent, based largely on social themes. The best Asian films were said to deal with social problems, such as the impact on farmers when a factory was built in their village. But the main weight of the Asians' remarks fell heavily on America's cultural exports, and especially on its films.

Dr. Raymond Stites, Curator in Charge of Educational Work, played host to the Asians when they visited the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D. C.

"The picture we get of your life from your films," said Dr. Malalasekera, "is one of spiritual and moral deterioration." Dr. Sukich described rioting in Thailand after students had seen the *Blackboard Jungle.* "For months it was impossible to exercise discipline in certain schools," he said. Professor Sharif remarked that "just as the ruled aped the customs and manners of the rulers, so do older cultures copy younger, more aggressive cultures. The best features of such cultures take time to emulate, but the superficial is easily picked up. Our youth follows Hollywood, and the moral bases of our society are being undermined today, whereas the best characteristics of your civilization may take centuries to be felt."

Dr. Djohan recalled that "after winning our sovereignty, we faced the question of our attitude toward foreign culture—of acculturation. We decided we would open our hearts and minds to Western culture and welcomed it. Years have passed and we see we are at a dangerous point. We see what America exports to us and we are worried, because it violates our best sentiments and values and poisons our youth. Now that I have seen America, I know that your moving pictures do not give my people a true image of your way of life."

Dr. Tan, after describing how teenagers leaving a Manila theater where they had seen a violent American film, slashed tires and covered cars with manure, asked: "What can you do to help us prevent the entry into our country of your objectionable films, polluting our youth and destroying our best traditions?"

None of the American panelists felt impelled to defend America's most popular cultural exports. Mr. Kronkhite, rather, apologized for their quality and explained that even this was part of the democratic process. "Anything the public accepts that lies within the law," he said, "must be accepted until a reaction sets in to correct it." Mr. Grondahl opposed any effort at preselection of cultural exports, saying that "it sounds too much like censorship. Perhaps it is better to do culturally and nationally what we do with our children. We let them see the movies and read comic books and hope they will go on to something better." Mr. Poleman believed that selectivity in cultural matters must lie entirely with the Asians. And Mr. Melby threw the question of selection and censorship back at the Asians. "Why, if you know what is good and bad, don't you stop the bad from entering your countries?"

Dr. Trinh expressed the opinion that "a selection of material can scarcely be demanded of the United States. It is rather the business of the Asian countries to select what is good and proper for them. Censorship prevails in the freest countries as far as films and radio are concerned. We can depend on Asia's instinct and natural good sense to act for the best."

But Dr. Sukich clung to the position that the problem was really America's. "Given a choice between a book or film about murder and sex and philosophy, it is only natural for us to choose the things that give us more fun. Since the reputation of the United States is at stake, however, the problem is yours, not ours."

VALUES OF EXCHANGE PROGRAMS

Stalemated, the discussion swung to the broader aspects of cultural exchange. Dr. Rao charged the United States generally as having an unjustified inferiority complex about its culture. "No one coming here can escape being impressed by your cultural development—the music-libraries in your universities, your art and architecture, your dance, which enjoy larger and more discriminating audiences than anything in Europe. But few people in India know it since all we see are your films. Yes, Martha Graham and Leontyne Price recently came to Delhi and made a big hit. We ought to have more of such things. The Communists are cleverer than you in these matters—they deluge us with cultural missions. Ballet, painting, music are nonpolitical and make for popular

understanding. More exchanges between nonpolitical, nonmilitary groups, especially of educators, is important. Such exchanges have an added value. We are embarrassed about repaying your material gifts to India because we lack dollars. But in art, ideas, discussion, we can give as good as we get."

Frequently, throughout the discussions, and especially at points where American panelists either disagreed or confessed their inability to answer Asian questions, the matter of bibliographies was raised. "How can we get the truth, the facts about you in their most viable form—books?" "What titles can you recommend?" "How can such literature be made more broadly available to our people, many of whom speak or read English?" Questions like these were asked by almost every Asian.

Dr. Graves, deploring how little is being done to spread good literature both ways, praised the work of Franklin Publications and certain of UNESCO's publishing enterprises as examples of what might be done to bring the best of Western literature to the East. As for publishing Asian literature in America, he said that aside from financial stringencies, the problem lay in determining the Asian titles worthy of translation. "In Turkey, for example, two thousand book titles come out each year. We can't translate or sell that many. What

Two Asian participants examine books used in the Asia Foundation's "Seeds of Democracy" and "Books for Asian Students" programs. Left to right are Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, Dr. Carleton Lowenberg, Chief of the Asia Foundation's Book Program, and Dr. Sukich Nimmanheminda.

five books ought we to translate is the question. There isn't enough of this transcultural process going on."

U Lu Pe Win echoed this point, and summed up the sentiment not only of his Asian colleagues but of the Americans. "Historically," he said, "Asia has always absorbed much from other cultures, but America absorbs little from us. You don't speak our language. You know little of our people. Unless you are informed about us, and possess good will, any efforts to work together or advance together to an harmonious future are futile."

Professor Sharif punctuated this phase of the discussion with a recommendation: "To avoid all misunderstanding and to encourage cooperation and friendship between the Asian countries and the United States, it is desirable first, to send to Asian countries cheap editions of classics and technical books and works which truly represent America's thought and culture. Second, to find ways and means to stop the influx of the wrong types of films and books. Third, to arrange for a two-way traffic of high class literature."

XII. *Political Concepts*

The widest gulf separating the discussants, to no one's surprise, lay in the area of political postures and relationships and their concomitants, military pacts and economic aid. To bridge this gulf they gave their best efforts, first, by frank presentations of their national and personal viewpoints, and second, by seeking some basis of solid agreement on which a firmer structure might be built. Dr. Malalasekera minced no words in projecting the problem. "We find," he said, "that in the American mind Asian developments are inextricably entwined with communism. Americans think we are politically immature and therefore in danger. Americans cannot understand why the danger seems less to us than to them. Perhaps the reason is that you are a young civilization. Like all adolescents, when you tender gifts and they are not received enthusiastically, you think the recipient's affections lie elsewhere, in this case, with communism.

"We Asians happen to believe that we are strong and astute enough to withstand blandishments. We think our way of life is strong enough to work out its own solutions. We tell the story of a fish carried downstream by a flood while a monkey watched from a tree. Eager to save the fish, the monkey snatched it from the water and placed it high and dry beside him. You are trying to save us, without understanding our nature and our strength to cope with forces with which we are familiar. Buddha said there are two things

existing in the world: Dharma, that which is peace, love, and life, and Addharma, the opposite. These two elements can never mix. The Communist doctrine of the end justifying the means is diametrically opposed to Buddhist and Hindu philosophy. Ceylon is skilled in democratic choice because of its long tradition."

THE MIDDLE ROAD

Dr. Rao voiced the Indian view with equal force. "The United States regards communism as democracy's enemy. Communism, it believes, must be destroyed. It seeks to encircle communism with military alliances. It will ally itself with any power indiscriminately that will join it, and it questions the democracy of any country that refuses to go along with its military measures.

"India fought totalitarianism on the basis of human values and political democracy. Democracy means free belief in the worth of the human individual, and not marching behind American banners and jet planes. Democracy is part of our national tradition. We flourish under democracy. We want to be democratic, not to please America, but because we believe in it. If we don't join military alliances it is not because of any lack of such belief.

"We believe we can be democratic and still be neutral. That doesn't mean India is neutralist. On the contrary, our active policy helped to stop two wars, one in which you were involved, Korea, and the other in which you were on the verge of being involved, Indochina. At home we crush Communists when they are violent. When they remain within the law we leave them alone. Nor are we afraid of the Russian threat. We maintain a big army. If anyone invades us, we will throw him out, with arms or some other way. The British used to talk of the Russian bogey. But we don't think Russia can conquer us. Only if we have a large dissatisfied element in our population will our country become vulnerable. We produced a marvelous man, Gandhi, and we beat the British without arms. And so we are not nervous about the Russians. Nor are we fooled by Bulganin, Khrushchev, and Russian steel mills. We are too subtle for that. Our policy aims not at fighting communism, but at maintaining and strengthening democracy. Arms can't save people. But if souls and morals are corrupted, they fall.

"Why don't we enter military pacts? Once we did we would have to treble our army. It is as if I offered you an elephant as a token of my friendship. You would go broke feeding that elephant. The minute we enter military pacts, we face 2,000 miles of frontier with China to patrol. How can we pay for such an adventure? Besides, your own generals say war is suicidal. What advan-

tage then, in joining with you to prepare for a suicidal war? Our method is different. By not opposing Russia we disarm the Communists. We embrace the Chinese, but from some distance. We have been slaves, but we are not fools."

MILITANT NEUTRALITY

Cambodia's neutrality differed from India's and Ceylon's. "The duty of a neutral, as we see it," said Mr. Sam Sary, "is to stay in the middle. But though we are neutral we want an army strong enough to protect ourselves. At present we have an army of 40,000 men and a military budget of $60 million. We cannot maintain such a force ourselves and need help from whatever source we can get it. We hope it will continue to come from the country already helping us, the United States. We believe we can accept such military aid without jeopardizing our neutrality.

"A pact signed in 1955 in accordance with the terms of the Geneva pact which prohibits offensive but permits defensive alliances, enables us to accept American military aid. And the United States has generously imposed no conditions on us. We were not forced to join the SEATO pact, for instance. Nevertheless, we feel we are protected by it and by our neutrality.

"This is a difficult position for some nations to understand, but for us it is both realistic and practical. We are, after all, a small people. But when we see a tiger attacking small animals we don't want to wait and be attacked ourselves. We take precautions. We lay traps and carry arms. At the least movement we are ready to act. We protect ourselves with three precautions: We fight with ideas, with arms, and we aim at elevating living standards.

"If, despite these, the Communists one day act with force, we must react with force, just as we already have done in throwing out Viet-Minh troops who crossed our frontier. India might well give heed. It has many people. But ants are numerous too. Yet the bear can still snatch and eat them!"

To the persistent American question—can one stand up for democracy and still remain neutral?—Dr. Djohan offered yet another answer. "There is a fallacy in the question. It infers that America alone can define and claim democracy. We believe that we ourselves understand and can claim true democracy, a democracy based on ideas a thousand years old. Our motto is unity in diversity. We believe that there can be many aspects—economic, cultural, political—of democracy and that our definition is as valid as yours. By admitting the Communist Party into Indonesia, we prove we really are a democracy. As long as Communists obey the law, we don't interfere with them. We don't

feel threatened by communism. We had a bloody Communist revolt in 1948 and put it down. We can do it again if the need arises.

"We follow a policy of positive independence, not neutralism, which is negative. If the Communists should capture a neighboring country, we would take action at that time. Feeling our own strength, we see no reason meanwhile for military alliances. Because we refuse to join such pacts, do not call us anti-democratic. No country should criticize another for remaining true to its own traditions and convictions."

Dr. Sukich said, "We have spent our lives learning new methods from our enemies in order to defeat them. The Chinese minority in Thailand may be a fertile field for communism and so may the refugees from Viet-Nam. But we do not fear them. Buddhism is the best defense Thailand has against communism."

THE DANGERS OF COMPLACENCY

Dr. Trinh was dubious about religion as a bulwark. "Cannot communism use religion to its own ends and then discard the religious framework?" Dr. Tan, nodding his head in agreement, averred, "In my country we have actually known the threat of communism. We know what it is like and how it can undermine our religion, our morals, our economy, our crops. We can't be as optimistic or indifferent to communism as some of our Asian neighbors."

Nor, despite the Asian positions advanced so eloquently by Drs. Rao and Djohan, could many of the Americans. Mr. Fuller declared that "Listening to some of the Asians, I hear echoes of Czechoslovakia. They said the same things." And Dr. Odegaard attempted a rationale of American democracy out of which evolved American antipathy toward communism. "One of the factors in a democracy is fear of man. The United States was founded on something less than complete belief that man is a good animal. Our Constitution, our system of checks and balances, reflect this. We are suspicious of power in mortal hands—government, business, or any others. When total power is lodged in the hands of a small group of men who deny God and affirm that they, and they alone, possess truth, our suspicion, our fear, our antagonism are genuine, deep, and spring from the very roots of our national being."

To Asian charges of excessive American reliance on arms, Mr. Hoffman replied, "The central theme of our foreign policy since the end of World War II is peace. We spend substantial sums for arms because of our realization that we had to win time and hold the line for ourselves and for you. No American has the illusion that violence is the way to peace. We spend billions of dollars

to help other people achieve self-sufficiency and political stability with one idea—it is in our own interest to have other countries strong, prosperous, and independent. For this to come about in the face of a Soviet Russia armed to the teeth, we needed strength, to gain time, for us and for you."

Moved less by argument, perhaps, and more by their own personal contact with the American people, the Asians tempered their view of America's martial manner. "I came here frightened," admitted Dr. Rao, "of American power and rigidity. I have learned I didn't do justice to the American people. In a democracy, people move slowly, but ultimately opinion moves the right way. With all your faults, I have learned that you are nearer to God than any dictator. Rather than truculence, I have found interest, open-mindedness, understanding, and passionate devotion to peace. I am amazed to find your President Eisenhower, as sincere a man as Nehru, telling Americans: 'Great nations have emerged in Asia. It is inevitable that they are anxious about their independence, eager to get on with their internal problems, and disinclined to become entangled in foreign alliances. We Americans,' he said, 'followed exactly that policy of nonentanglement from independence to 1917 and even to 1941. Let us therefore understand and respect newly independent countries.' This statement of President Eisenhower characterizes a great change in America. It is not a change in policy, values, loyalty, but a change from extreme self-righteousness to tolerance for the views of others."

XIII. *The Question of American Aid*

The conferees then considered five questions raised by Dr. Rao. Should the United States offer assistance to undeveloped parts of the world? If so, should this be for military or economic purposes, or both? If for both, should military and economic aid be linked? What should be the relative magnitude of economic and military aid and military-economic aid? Given the desirability of aid, should it be channeled through the United Nations and other international organizations, or should it be through regional groupings?

Mr. Vincent answered categorically. "There *should* be United States aid to Asia. It should be of *both* kinds, economic and military. The two should *not* be linked; one can't buy military assistance through economic aid. American economic aid should be given through whatever channel is best suited to solve

a given problem. I prefer the United Nations where possible, but the bilateral approach is more likely to get money out of Congress. SUNFED, linked with, but outside the United Nations, is also a good idea.

"Whatever the chosen means, what is needed are mutual understanding and cooperation in achieving the goal—the strengthening of a country's democratic processes. Tying up assistance with judgments of any nation's economic or political philosophy is wrong. We must realize that a large part of Asia will pursue noninvolvement policies. We must be prepared for a tendency to Socialist state-planning. We must realize there is a voice of Asia that will be heard more and more, that it will help to decide the world's course, and that we must heed it. Finally, we must acknowledge that though a country may be underdeveloped or uncommitted, it nevertheless can be influential—a force in world affairs with which we must reckon."

Viewpoints on aid varied among the Asians. Dr. Tan opined that military and economic aid, both necessary, should be separate and worked out bilaterally between the United States and each Asian country. "This," he said, "makes for closer, more effective, less wasteful action." Admitting that direct pressure might be reduced in dealing through the United Nations, he feared, however, that it might seem that some superorganization were being set up to direct Asian destinies. This, to him, was objectionable.

Said Dr. Djohan, "Before I left Indonesia, the Russian ambassador asked me about our ties with American universities. I said we had many and more were coming. He asked whether faculty arrangements with Russian universities would be welcomed. I said, 'Let's talk about it.' This expresses our attitude. We will deal with anybody and through whatever channel, bilateral or international, we think best suited to success. Of all forms of aid, however, I believe cultural cooperation between universities can do most to achieve the understanding we desire."

Dr. Rao expressed his distaste of countries "banding together to beg, degrading themselves by pandering to American prejudices. We prefer an international agency, including the U.S.S.R., with a fund contributed by all the haves, to which the have-nots could apply without begging. I am thinking of the Colombo Plan organization. It came into existence as the result of spontaneous Asian leadership. It is indigenous to the East and provides a ready-made framework of nonpolitical, economic organization. Given one or two billion dollars a year to spend, and with both the United States and U.S.S.R. invited to join, it can develop into an effective instrument.

"Lacking this, we prefer bilateral aid. We welcome loans, not grants. We

want to exchange and give back something for what we get. As for American aid, it should not be given to countries which fail to pass the test of democracy."

Asked whether it would be moral to give aid to nondemocratic countries through such organizations as the Colombo Plan, and whether Communist China should be included in such organizations, Dr. Rao admitted to a dilemma. "Ideologically," he replied, "we must work on sound moral principles. Practically, we must rule out no one, acting in the faith that ultimately democracy will win. As for China's inclusion," he said, "I am undecided."

THE PREREQUISITES FOR AMERICAN AID

Mr. Sam Sary had certain doubts about Dr. Rao's tests relative to a country's democracy and about the Colombo Plan as a means of channeling aid to Asia. "Who is to judge," he asked, "whether a nation is democratic—the United States or the recipient country? Viet-Nam recently had some experience on the difficulties involved in such a test. At Geneva the Viet Minh said it would agree to hold free elections. Viet-Nam questioned this, recalling that even the dead in the cemeteries vote one way in Communist elections. Nevertheless, if you ask the Viet Minh whether they are democratic and qualified for United States aid, they would say yes. On the other hand, if the country giving aid refuses the Viet Minh's self-appraisal and makes its own decision, you have the problems the United States faces today. My own belief is that the United States either gives aid only to democratic countries or to countries like Yugoslavia, deemed more democratic than its neighbors, or to countries that, with aid, might become more democratic.

"Our own fear about American aid," Mr. Sam Sary confessed, "is whether a small country, however democratic, can qualify. Cambodia was forced to take a neutralist line, not to abandon its liberties, but to protect them against the Communist power on its border. Ever since, difficulties have arisen in connection with United States aid. Now no dollars are offered us, but only counterpart funds, in piasters. When these difficulties accumulated, our Prime Minister resigned. Thus a small democratic country like ours, forced into a neutral position, wonders whether it can receive aid from the United States."

As for the Colombo Plan, Mr. Sam Sary feared that "by favoring it over the United Nations we undermine the United Nations and lead to the same fate encountered by the League of Nations." On the subject of United States aid generally, he urged Americans to "remember that aid is new to us. Before the war it was unknown. We therefore fear that acceptance of aid may entail the

loss of our liberty. Also, Asians believe that those who take are in an inferior position. Unless aid is given in such a way as to strengthen our own values, it violates our sense of right and dignity."

Mr. Tay remarked that his people's impression of American aid was that "it favors persons or countries that please you. It is primarily anti-Communist rather than prodemocratic. This results in a certain dictation as to who will run Laotian affairs. To illustrate, this year the United States waited for the results of our elections and the composition of our Cabinet before announcing its aid to Laos. This constituted pressure upon us. Here in America I feel people are anxious to help Laos for democratic reasons, but on the spot the Americans responsible for aid seem to concentrate only on anticommunism. Sometimes I am persuaded to believe that Laos does not qualify for the American aid it needs simply because we are a peaceful people who have not killed or caused trouble."

Dr. Tan reported American aid to the Philippines, while on the whole generous and good, was being affected adversely by United States insistence on attaching strings, such as counterpart funds. "Many worthwhile organizations, universities for example, can't offer counterpart funds. Yet, no one needs them more. Other examples: the requirement that, to receive war damage help, we raise the minimum wages of workers. This created havoc in certain areas where costs of living were less than in Manila. Also, we were forced to change our Constitution to give equal rights to American citizens. We conceded because we were poor, prostrate, and needed your help desperately."

ROOM FOR IMPROVEMENT

"Cooperation between the two countries," Dr. Tan believed, "would be improved were each to have something to give and something to receive. Asians can't understand anyone passing out hundred dollar bills. We suspect the motive or sanity of the giver. You must explain your aid in terms we understand—such as your desire to preserve the area of freedom essential to your own prosperity, and stressing our contribution as well as your own."

Professor Sharif observed that Pakistan is always ready to give help and take help from friendly countries. She realizes that she is an underdeveloped country and without foreign aid it would be difficult for her to go ahead. But like all other countries she hates strings attached to any foreign aid. "Foreign experts," he added, "who go to Asian countries should treat local talent as equals, and not, as sometimes happens, as inferiors. Even stray cases of superior airs cause injury to others' self respect and strike at the root of cooperation and mu-

tual understanding. Before sending advisers and experts outside, full assessment should be made of the locally available talent. In some fields it might be better to send out only one or two top experts than a large team."

Although Asians were unanimous in criticizing certain aspects of American aid, none was oblivious to the difficulties in rendering it—difficulties accented by their own disagreements on how aid might best be administered and the qualifications of recipients judged. All agreed with Mr. Kestnbaum: "Never before in history has a nation shown such interest in aiding others for ulterior or any other motives. America's actions today are unique and new." And Dr. Rao added, "It is dreadful to be rich in a poor world. Everyone is jealous and ungrateful. It requires skill and imagination for relationships between giver and recipient to be harmonious."

It was precisely skill and imagination that, in the end, Asians and Americans agreed were indispensable elements in any program of economic aid. Dr. Beggs confessed that "sitting with these Asians, you realize that 'undeveloped' is not the word for their countries, nor is aid the answer to their problems. What is needed are two types of investment—the state-to-state kind, with one government loaning money to the other to help pay for the social overhead investments which are unattractive to private-capital investment in Asia, and private capital which will tend to flow once the Asians reduce the risks now attendant on such investment."

Mr. Reuther believed that "America should feed people because they are hungry and not because the Communists are close. Nor should we want a load of gratitude for every load of wheat. What bothers me is that when India asked us for one-half of one percent of our steel capacity, we got all involved in ideology and turned it down. Russia then laid the money on the line on a long term two percent loan without quibbling. Even Red China, which needs steel more than the Indians, asked how can we help? China sent India 50,000 tons of steel, saying nothing, of course, about getting 100,000 in return from Russia, but, oh, what propaganda! When a man in a Cadillac picks you up on the road, feeds you and takes you home, you don't feel overly grateful. But when a poor man shares a crust with you, that really touches the heart. And that's what's wrong with American aid. It's long on know-how, but it lacks know-why. And it misses out on human values."

The same crucial absence of human values formed the gist of Congressman Judd's story from Burma about a father whose only daughter was courted by two worthy young men. "To choose between them he took them for a walk up a mountain, in the course of which he fell into a crevasse. Suitor Number

One rescued him, and the father was so grateful it seemed certain he would give his daughter to him. Suitor Number Two, however, concocted a plan to prevent this from happening. He arranged a walk during which he himself fell into a crevasse and was saved by the father. Filled with pride in his own accomplishment, the father gave his daughter to the suitor he had saved.

"That is the secret," Dr. Judd concluded. "If only we had the wit to apply it. Others want to feel we need them as well as they need us. America's very effort to help others sometimes humiliates them. Our very efficiency becomes a subtle form of imperialism. I know the United States desires only to be helpful, but because we don't study and know the people we seek to help, we sometimes lose their confidence, respect, and friendship. The gift without the giver is bare indeed."

XIV. *Differences . . . Not Antagonisms*

The Asians had arrived in San Francisco strangers, some of them, to America and to each other. For 4 weeks, with astonishing stamina and patience, they had submitted to the rigors of constant travel and talk, to endless interviews with journalists, to television quiz-masters, and to the frank, friendly curiosity of the public. They had confronted constantly changing panels of American specialists in six different cities, and had stood before audiences in public sessions to answer far-ranging questions about themselves, their peoples, their lands.

They had managed, somehow, to withstand the shock of America's myriad contrasts. Hard by their host-institution in Cambridge, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, noted for its scientific research, the visitors had spent a meditative afternoon in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, its galleries illuminated with the glowing beauty of Asian art. From the academic quiet of Michigan University in Ann Arbor, they had sped to the near-ultimate in mechanical miracles—an automotive assembly line—and had returned to the campus to visit one of the world's most modern laboratories, dedicated to the peaceful use of atomic power. In the heart of America's so-called "isolationist" Middle West, they had been greeted by standing-room-only audiences who cheered the honesty with which they advanced their Asian viewpoints. In

Minneapolis, another midwestern stronghold of mechanized industry and agriculture, they had found in the Charles Lesley Ames Library one of the most comprehensive collections of orientalia in the world. In Louisville, a window looking out upon the South, their host-institution had been a university famed as a laboratory for race relations. And in Washington they had beheld a National Gallery of Art enriched with treasures given to the people by American capitalists; the Library of Congress, housing the largest existing collections of books in English on their own countries; and the Senate floor, from which representatives of both parties came to greet them, as one Asian put it, "with Asian heart and intellect."

In Washington, Asians and Americans parted. Informally, at receptions such as that at the historic Blair House or in their own Embassies, where Asians returned the Americans' hospitality, they reviewed the stereotyped conceptions with which Asian and American had greeted each other 4 weeks before. For their part, the Asians had come convinced that American industry dehumanizes and mechanizes its manpower. That large congeries of business dominate American life, maintain pressure on legislation, and, through control of mass media of information, control public opinion. That American enterprise encourages a dynamism of demand, creating, in the process, neuroses, delinquency, alcoholism, and materialism. That America's economy operates without plan and is therefore hostile to the Socialist planning that characterizes the new nations of Asia. That American education, caught up in the overwhelming drive toward technological goals, disdains the humanities and discourages the spirit. That America's cultural output is unduly preoccupied with crime, violence, passion, and profligacy. That American journalism dwells on the unusual and divisive, rather than on the constructive activities of Asia's people. That America's philosophy is materialistic and lacks the metaphysical anguish about man's nature and fate that characterize the Asian outlook.

The Americans recalled their misgivings about Asia, expressed in such clichés as the illiteracy, poverty, backwardness, and disease of Asia's masses, from which, they felt, sprang Asia's susceptibility to any dogma that promised quick and easy betterment. Their doubts about Asia's neutralism, with its built-in bias toward Marxist socialism. Their inability to rationalize Asia's desire for material progress with its religious emphasis on spirituality and renunciation. Their wonder about what Asia could contribute to America that would fit into the pattern of American thought and action.

No one pretended that any or all of these conceptions had been changed, or that doubts and misgivings had been allayed. Nor, true to their mandate, did

the discussants formulate conclusions, pass resolutions, or make formal recommendations. Rather, it was in the spirit of the experimentation, the inquiry, and the exchange envisioned at Montevideo, and reexpressed at the Conference's opening session in San Francisco, that the meetings ended. There was satisfaction that areas of agreement and disagreement had been explored; that in some instances, differences had been reconciled; that others had been frankly confronted and recognized as being, for the moment, beyond bridging. "To understand is to forgive" was the maxim to which all discussants subscribed. And understanding, in the end, was what the conferences produced. This understanding was expressed in many ways.

"We have all realized," said Professor Sharif, "that Asians and Americans have the same cycle of life and the same values. The differences lie largely in emphasis. No secret is made of our flaws. We in Asia have more than Americans. Asia needs and is getting America's help. Perhaps there is much in our older culture that, synthesized with your own, can be of value to Americans. Each region must do its best to understand the psychology of the other, and each region must choose its friends and its policies with care, lest it back the wrong horse. In achieving both aims, these meetings have been of inestimable help. They have changed a meeting of minds into a meeting of hearts."

"That 10 Asians from 10 countries," said Dr. Rao, "have found friends and attachments with each other, and with Americans, is proof of the value of these seminars. All of us have learned that American life, viewed in the films and news services we see in Asia, is not the real America, and is utterly wrong. Americans, we have learned, are husbands, wives, parents, family people, interested not only in money, sex, crime and violence, but life's finest nonmaterial, spiritual aspects. Americans have doubts and questions about themselves. They are disturbed, and taken as a whole, are among the most sophisticated of human beings. Sensing that something is missing in your society, you seek correctives and are groping for the answers to the human problems that arise from industrialization.

"Your sense of individuality is your most precious asset. Your emphasis on voluntary work by private groups is your most impressive contribution. Your Senate in session, undisciplined, disorderly, chaotic, could happen only in America. It has defects, but in a world where people more and more are taking orders and bowing to authority, this individualism, this freedom, are precious.

"Did we achieve understanding? Yes, and at the same time, recognition of divergencies between Asians and Americans and among Asians themselves. All

of us believe in the same set of political values. All derive inspiration from the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, the French Revolution, British liberalism. But we realize there are different ways of achieving the same objectives. No one can pronounce which is right and which is wrong.

"Asia can teach America that differences do not mean antagonisms. That differences can be resolved peacefully. That rush and restlessness can be moderated. That man, God-centered instead of self-centered, can find peace.

"To improve understanding between us, knowledge is needed. My great charge is against those Americans in authority, officially and privately, who are not giving the American people the knowledge of Asia they need. Only when we understand each other's art, music, literature, culture, and tradition can we enjoy the understanding on which good will, prosperity, and peace depend."

"I was most surprised," said Daw Mya Sein, "that American life as we see it in your films and books—the things you yourself send us, showing a life of luxury, hard drinking, all guns going, rich and gay—this life is not real. American women work harder than we do. Your greatness didn't come from heaven, but from hard work. You make an effort, become educated, treat labor with dignity; and this endears you to us. Your great lack is knowledge of us. All you know is what you read in your newspapers—sensational highlights and never our solid, day-by-day accomplishment.

"The main lesson emerging from these meetings is that we all, Asians and Americans, are essentially the same. All desire the same things in life. All seek ultimate truth. Once we learn this lesson, finding out what we have in common and what we like in each other, we will get along."

Three Americans replied to the Asians. Mr. Cousins described himself as "a compartmentalized unit known as Western man. Very little was taught me about the majority of the human race. I learned about the uniqueness of Western man's destiny and mission. I was not taught that the great significance of the differences in men is that there is no significance in these differences. My education didn't prepare me for the discovery of man by man. But there is increasing awareness among Americans that they are half-educated. The education of tomorrow will deal with the orchestration of the human spirit, and with our history, not in terms of its greatness, but as a connecting link with the rest of the human race. Terms like 'neutral' and 'uncommitted,'" Mr. Cousins declared, "are fallacious. There is nothing uncommitted about the Asian people. They are committed to catching up, to a revolution for self respect, to throwing off colonial shackles. Not until Asians are free and equal can we have a full orchestration of the human spirit, and a rule of law."

Mr. Hoffman summed up mankind's dilemma—one the conference had gone so far to resolve—in a story about a little boy who left home with his grandfather on his first overnight visit. When he went to bed, he cried, "Grandpa, it's dark here!" Grandfather answered, "Hush, lad, it's also dark at home." "Yes, Grandpa," said the little boy, "but there it's *our* dark!"

And the conference's chairman, Dr. Blum, balanced the successes and failures of the discussions as he saw them. "On the positive side," he said, "we were all speaking the same language. When we spoke of democracy, individual dignity, freedom, we all meant the same thing. We knew we were striving for these, even though none of us had achieved perfection. Our Asian friends recognized they had much to learn from us; some things they liked, others they did not like—and somehow they feel they can borrow the good while rejecting the bad. Americans, not only we who participated in the panels but the vast audience that looked and listened in, gained greatly in their knowledge, appreciation, and respect for Asian values, problems, and solutions. And doubtless, Asians learned much about their fellow Asians.

"Negatively," Dr. Blum continued, "I doubt whether we Americans succeeded in linking our material progress with our spiritual values or even in convincing our Asian friends that we have spiritual values. Americans had trouble explaining our society, reconciling the contradictions between our ideals and our achievements. Nor were the Americans sure of what they had to learn from Asia. Curiosity? Interest? Yes; but, nevertheless, uncertainty as to what Asia can contribute to our society.

"And so," said Dr. Blum, "we conclude uncertain about many matters, unsure about how to reconcile human values with our industrial society, unsure how, in pushing progress at breakneck speed, we can arrive at a proper equilibrium. Asians sense that they face these same problems. They seek progress, desire technology, and hope to benefit from our experience. We have much to give to each other. But nothing can be accepted whole. Whatever is good in each society must be adapted by the society that borrows to its own people, its own traditions, its own culture."

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